THE MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE.

"They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

EDITED BY

GEORGE PATTERSON

AND

C. MICHIE SMITH.

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THE
MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
MAGAZINE.

JULY, 1885.

THE BIBLE ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF EVIL.

We have seen that man's original state was one of innocence and happiness; a state aptly represented as the "Garden" state, where every flower was his to pluck, and every fruit his to taste; a scene of primitive simplicity, and domestic security and peace.

But if innocence is to become virtue; if *possible* goodness is to acquire *actual* existence; if the Divine image in which man is created is to become the self-acquired attribute of humanity, then the Paradise state must come to an end. For this development can take place only through the awakening of self-consciousness, and a revelation of man's natural weakness and defect. Humility and faith, learned in the school of sorrow and repentance, is the first step to true greatness. Life springs out of death.

And so we find that all is changing now in Eden. A dark cloud comes across the scene. The air grows thick and chilly; the wind moans among the trees of the garden; there are signs of an approaching storm. The peace of Paradise is going to be disturbed. Trouble is at hand. *Sin* is about to enter into the world. That joyous relationship of love and confidence that had existed between man and his Maker, and which constituted the bliss of Paradise, is to be broken up by the disorganising force of moral evil.

VOL. III, NO. I.

Here then we come upon the great tragedy of humanity that has wrapped the mind in sorrow and in mystery, age after age—the origin of evil; the darkest and most perplexing problem of moral philosophy and religion.

It will be readily admitted that the Bible has not invented the idea of evil. That we are all born into a sinful world, with a nature prone to evil, comes to be the mournful experience of every child of Adam. That we all know what sin is, in our own thoughts and actions, is the bitter confession we are bound to make. Sin—the tragic act of the first man, and which each man repeats after him in dark, unbroken regularity—is the fundamental fact of man's being; and, therefore, the true starting point of all religion. No religion, no philosophy, that makes light of sin, can lay firm hold on men's consciences and hearts. A religion that has no word for suffering sinners, is no religion at all. There are many phases of religious thought in the present day that have much to recommend them to educated minds; but they propound a one-sided philosophy when they ignore the fact of sin; when they find no place for a doctrine of redemption; when they offer no salve for the heart-sores of humanity. Christianity does not invent the idea of sin, though it has educated and deepened man's *sense* of sin; it does not seek to explain it; but it does irradiate the mystery; it does lighten the universal burden; it does announce an unfailing remedy for the terrible disease. If sin were not a fact independent of Christianity; if it were not indeed a part of human nature, and a stern factor in human life, Christianity would long ago have perished; for sin may be called its subject matter; the one great postulate of Christianity is sin; all its great doctrines are related, on one side, to sin; and man, the sinner, is everywhere regarded in the Bible as a being born *to be redeemed*.

And it is just because this ancient narrative in Genesis is so *true to human nature*, that it outlives all the petty ridicule and dark aspersions that have been cast upon it; and remains an ever fruitful theme of human interest, an exhaustless mine of earnest thought and speculation.

It cannot be denied that much of the charm of this simple story has been marred by zealous fingers, and that brains professedly friendly to the Bible have here, as elsewhere, often "darkened counsel by words without knowledge." * A rigid literalism, which

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* Job xxxviii, 2.

has regarded every detail of this narrative as actual history, has necessarily given much occasion for stumbling; while theological ingenuity has been busily at work, taking serious liberties with the story, and reading into it gratuitous assumptions which the narrative nowhere justifies. How far the active imagination of our great English poet Milton is responsible for this, we will not attempt to determine; but, unquestionably, that gifted mind, along with kindred spirits such as Cædmon, the Anglo-Saxon Milton, and Dante, the great Italian dramatist of horrors, so popularised and moulded ecclesiastical tradition as to give an actual existence to much in Scripture that is manifestly figurative, and a reality to some things that the ancient Bible record passes over altogether; while hard and repulsive dogmas, presumably based upon the narrative before us, have been reckoned part of the creed of Christendom. Hence questions like these are frequently asked; 'Can we believe that a God of benevolence should arbitrarily forbid the eating of an apple to our first parents, in order to prove His own authority; and then, for so slight a transgression, should condemn countless millions of their posterity, who never tasted nor saw the forbidden tree, to untold suffering here, and endless misery hereafter?' Now such a representation is wholly at variance with all our conceptions of benevolence and justice, and nothing short of a calumny on the character of God; just as it is a gross caricature, as we shall see, of the narrative in Genesis. That narrative is defensible as it stands, and when rightly interpreted; but it is not answerable for the traditionary accumulations that have gathered round it. We are nowhere taught in the Bible to explain the dark secret of moral evil by any reference to 'the fall of Adam,' as though Adam and even God Himself were mainly responsible for human sin; but sin is brought home with terrible directness to each individual conscience. We repudiate, with all its horrors, the notion of such a probation undertaken by one representative in Paradise in behalf of his posterity. And there is happily no need so to pervert the Bible record. If we come to it with a fresh and open mind, we need not become entangled in unsound systems of theology; and if we remember its essentially symbolic character, we shall not fasten on what is merely form, but shall seek to ascertain what constitutes the worth of every symbol—the kernel of spiritual significance. If we lose that, either here or elsewhere, we shall lose the soul of the Bible; and its body will then be little worth preserving.

Setting aside for the present the imagery itself—the symbolic

trees and serpent—the great fact here presented to us is the *entrance of sin* into the world. This, we know, is the problem of problems—the origin, permission, and toleration of evil in God's good universe. So great has been the pressure of this mystery of evil, which the wise of all ages have pronounced insoluble, that some minds in modern times, such as J. S. Mill and his school of thought, have reverted to the old Persian theory of the dualistic hypothesis of the universe. There may be a God, but His power must be limited by the activity of some rival being or force, in which is found the eternal principle of evil. But this dark, fatalistic conception is opposed to one of the most settled convictions of modern science, *viz.*, that the universe is a unity ; just as it is opposed to the teaching of Scripture, which recognises both good *and* evil as holding a place in the one moral government of God. The religious mind revolts from the thought of *two* rival powers ruling our world ; and can be satisfied with nothing short of one righteous Lord, who controls the evil forces of the universe no less than the good, and rules over the empire of darkness as well as in the kingdom of light.

But this view awakens inquiry, and clearly demands some justification. If we are not to seek for the explanation of evil in a rival power, we are necessarily driven in upon ourselves, and to the nature God has given us. So let us see if any light will come from reflecting on some facts of human nature. The *possibility* of an outbreak of moral disorder is a question of philosophy ; that there has been an *actual* outbreak is a matter of history. May we not get some clue as to the possibility of evil creeping in, in the laws of our moral nature, as known in consciousness ?

Our nature is complex. Intelligence, emotions, desires, affections, will, all have their several parts to perform ; and a state of order and perfection is secured only in the continual balance of these several parts.* The possibility of disorder is to be found, in the first place, in the peculiar nature of the *desires*, or craving powers, " a sympathetic force by which the various instincts and faculties of our nature are drawn towards a something external to itself"—a fact symbolically represented in Genesis by the forbidden tree, and in Indian mythology by the " tree of desires ;" and, in the second place, in the *freedom of the will*—the power of choice—an attribute essential to the idea of man. Between these two—

* See on this subject Calderwood's Handbook of Moral Philosophy, pp. 256-258.

desire and will—there is a third element or force, a something *external* to ourselves, a world of sense towards which we stand in close relation. These then are the three working factors in the problem of moral evil—desire, free will, and the world around us.

Now God is the true object of all human desire. Around Him the perfect heart moves as the planet circles round its parent sun. Towards Him the perfect nature is attracted as the moon is attracted to the earth. But, unlike planet and satellite, man may cease to desire God as his highest good, and the true home of the soul, and may desire instead the world, or a something external to himself, for its own sake. And when desire is thus perverted by being wedded by the will to the things of time and sense, as if they could satisfy the yearnings of the spirit, the bond between God and the soul is severed, and, in the language of the Bible, "Desire, when it hath conceived beareth sin; and the sin, when it is full-grown, bringeth forth death."* A formed desire of this kind, deliberately assented to by the will, though it may not have ripened into an act, is sin; and sin is missing the aim or end for which man was created by his Maker.

The possibility of moral evil, and hence the fall of an innocent being, is thus conceivable from the very nature of particular desires and propensities; indeed, we may state the fact more strongly, and say that "the prevention of all evil in a world of created free agents may be strictly impossible in its own nature."

But at this point the question will probably be asked, Why then create creatures such as these? If we reflect, however, we shall see that imperfection—limitation—is necessarily inherent in *all created* life. Either nothing at all must be created, which would impose restriction on the Absolute, or something imperfect. As a finite being, man was perfect, or destined to be perfect; but relatively to God, he was imperfect; *i.e.*, he naturally lacked that perfection which belongs alone to the Creator. This defect, so far as it consists in the necessary limitation of every created thing, is metaphysical evil. Take the nature and life of the plant. It is limited in its power to realise its own growth; and its defect manifests itself in abortive and unsuccessful growths, and in the wastes of the wilderness where man cannot control it. Animal life is similarly limited. And when we come to man, however noble his faculties, they are still limited in their range; and this constitutes the meta-

* James i, 15.

physical evil inseparable from man's created being. Now rise a step higher, into moral life, and we see how by an act of will, by an abuse of freedom, man can pervert his powers, turn away from his Creator, and blast the noble being with which he is endowed. That degree of defect we call moral evil.

The source and root of moral evil then is not in God, nor in matter, but in the *abused liberty* of the creature. Do any still press the previous question, and ask, Why should such a power as liberty have been left to any being? That is really not a question at all, for without such power, there could be no morality, and no such race as man. And does the possibility of the abuse of anything prove that it is itself an evil? Is religion a bad thing because it can be abused? Shall we abolish the sexes, and the family, and human love, because passion may be abused? Shall we dispense with laws and government because there has sometimes been oppression and misrule? Shall we destroy free will, or deny it, because men may abuse their liberty? Would we then have God surround Himself with mere automata, with no will of their own capable of reflecting back His glory; mere machines and puppets, moved by wires in a mock drama of human life, incapable of offering Him a voluntary affection? If He makes *man*, a being in His image—a noble creation—He makes something more and better than that. He gives him intelligence and free will, a tremendous power—a power that may be abused—but the highest gift He could possibly confer. Shall we arraign the Almighty for His generosity, and complain that He has made us men—rational, free men—and not brutes nor stones, because we have the power of abusing this freedom? Rather let us praise Him for the manhood crowned with so much honour; and, at the same time, tremble before the awful responsibilities which the possession of such a nature opens out. For if I am free to think truly, then I must be free to think untruly; if I am free to love, I am free not to love; if I am free to obey, I am free to disobey.

And is there not a moral certainty that some of God's creatures would *prove* their freedom by disobedience? How else, indeed, could man assure himself that he *was* free; that he was not bound in the same iron chain of necessity as the irrational things around him? There were motions within him that suggested a less restricted life; his Maker, at all events, was free; could he break his bonds, and be free like God? Such a train of thought would, sooner or later, arise in the mind of man; and how long would it be

before he risked the experiment? How long is it before the little child craves and reaches after the forbidden thing, and desires to see what will come of *not* doing as he is told?*

Now this philosophy of the moral life we have illustrated in the simple and graphic picture of the book of Genesis—in this figurative representation of an actual event. We find the first man, and the first woman—the first possessors of human nature—making this experiment; proving their freedom by an act of disobedience. And every man, and every woman, with unfaltering uniformity, has done the same thing since. A creature, when created, comes of necessity under law to its Creator. We need not dwell on this. Where there is no volition, there is no responsibility; but where there is free choice, and not necessity, there must be obligation. A man is culpable because he is capable. If our being has been given to us by God, it is not our own to abuse it as we like, but we are bound to live according to our nature. Our moral stability is therefore put to the test. Adam is proved, tried, and tempted. Trial tests the character, as fire tests a metal; temptation, which is seduction to evil, seeks to ruin the character. God tries; evil, or the world of sense, tempts.† Some beings cannot be tempted. God is too high to be tempted; He cannot err nor fall. A brute may be provoked, but not tempted; he has no moral nature. A thoroughly bad being cannot be tempted; his nature being essentially evil, sin is natural to it. But man can be tempted as well as tried. He is capable of obedience; he is capable of disobedience; limited in knowledge, free in will.

If it be said that such temptation necessarily opens the door for man to go astray, there are only two alternatives. Either the Creator must remove all incitements to evil, and so never test the freedom of man at all, which is inconsistent with the conditions of moral life; or free agents must be restrained when tempted to transgress, which, again, imposes a breach on the nature of the creature. God cannot at the same time create free-will, and un-create it. The will cannot be coerced without destroying it. That the will, when tempted, *must* fall, is false. It is a matter of choice, and not a fatal

* This subject is well treated in the Rev. Samuel Cox's *Genesis of Evil*. Chapter ii. (Kegan Paul & Co., London.)

† Psychologically considered, temptation arises through the opposing impulses of human nature seeking to bias the will.

necessity. As we have it expounded in Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure;"*

> 'Tis one thing to be tempted, Escalus,
> Another thing to fall.

That the will, when tempted, *may* fall, is, as we have seen, a conclusion easily drawn from a study of man's complex nature. That it *will* fall, in certain cases, is a truth known to Omniscience. But the will is neither necessitated, which would establish Fate; nor is it undetermined, which would resign the world to chance; but it is strictly self-determined. Circumstances and motives persuade, but they do not compel. Milton puts it thus:—

> God made man perfect, not immutable;
> And good He made him, but to persevere,
> He left it in his power . . .
> Our voluntary service He requires,
> Not our necessitated . . . .
> Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.

And the moral testing and contest thus involved are essential if there is to be any such thing as development, if we are to rise to the true dignity of moral beings. Man has to advance to the truest liberty, and maintain his native purity through self-control and free determination. The moral principle must be formed into a habit. The forms of possible existence must acquire actual existence. Depraved creatures need to be renewed; innocent, negative creatures need to be improved. Man was made innocent, but not holy. A state of *untried* innocence, as Adam's was at first, is not a state of virtue. What is virtue without freedom? What is virtue without conflict? There can be no positive good without first mastering the evil. The forest tree attains its strength and majesty by wrestling with many a storm. The cable must be strained to the utmost before the vessel is trusted to its power; the will must be proved to the utmost before its possessor can be called a virtuous man. *"Perfect through sufferings,"* is the Divine law of sonship.†

And have we not here some light let in on the mysterious fact of the permission of evil in the world at all? To undisciplined natures, temptations will always be a danger, while natures thoroughly disciplined will not feel them. Evil would really achieve a more fatal triumph in the bare contemplation of it as possible, than in its actual entrance into a world where it is destined *to be overcome.*

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* See Act ii, Scene 1. † Hebrews ii, 10.

And this is all vividly pourtrayed in the story before us ; drawn out and dramatised in the Garden of Eden, in a form almost childish in its simplicity, and yet embodying the profoundest conceptions of man and the universe. The whole visible creation is one vast arcana of wondrous symbolism, where outward and material things conceal and convey deep spiritual meanings. The natural world is "a mirror for all the unexplored truths of the moral universe;" just as man's body reflects the latent powers of the indwelling spirit. This typical and symbolic character of creation we have focussed in Eden and Paradise.

Two mystical Trees are prominent in Paradise : "the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil."* Traces of such trees, and of man's seduction through eating fruits, are preserved in other traditions, as in the Iranian and Scandinavian; and the sacred plant of the Assyrian bas-reliefs, guarded by celestial genii, suggest the trees of life and of knowledge.† But all other traditions save the Hebrew lack any true ethical conception of the nature of sin and of the eternal laws of moral being. In Genesis alone we find the first lesson ever given in morals, the typical command which is essential to the idea of all moral government, the typical test of the creature's obedience :—"Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it : for in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."‡

Trees play a unique part in the economy and beauty of creation. It has been observed that the two most admirable things in nature are mankind and the perennial trees. The trees are the great purifiers of the air we breathe. The invigorating draughts we quaff upon the breezy hills derive their tonic properties from the glorious trees. And the trees themselves supply us with some of the most valuable health medicines we possess. Again, our idea of the picturesque in nature is inseparable from the green stateliness of trees. Further, the finest and most impressive influences of nature proceed from trees. Such majestic monarchs as the banyan and the oak, whose spreading branches make a green heaven above our head, how powerfully they affect the mind of those who dwell amongst

* Genesis ii, 9.

† According to Lenormant, the most ancient name of Babylon is "the place of the tree of life," and this sacred plant he identifies with the *Asclepias acida*—the *soma* of the Aryans, and the *haoma* of the Iranians, whose intoxicating juice was offered in libation to the gods.

‡ Genesis ii, 16,17.

them; very differently, *e.g.*, from the palm or pine. Trees are full of emblems of what pertains most closely to the heart and life of man. Poets in every age have sung of the language of trees, as well as of the language of flowers. Trees are adapted by their original constitution—their forms, their habits, their vesture—to serve as metaphors of facts in human life, and of high and sacred realities belonging to the unseen world. Nature speaks, *e. g.*, everywhere, and in great variety, of resurrection and immortality; and trees especially, in the outflowing of their annual tide of life, and still more in the fadeless evergreens, are true and beautiful emblems of life and immortality.

And amid the trees of Paradise—which would not have been Paradise without its trees—there was a Tree of Life; a tree typical of life in God; of that immortal life and unfading joy to be found in communion with the Creator, and in trustful submission to His wise commands. The garden was indeed full of goodly trees, with this ambrosial tree of life as its centre and crown; and the rich variety all around—the countless flowers and fruits of Paradise—indicated that the way of life and obedience need be no narrow and restrained experience, but is associated with an infinite enjoyment of the loving gifts of God. "Of every tree of the garden thou mayest *freely* eat."

But there was *another* tree—a solitary tree—which also stands out prominently. In nature we know that poisonous trees are for wise purposes scattered sparingly over the earth; which, while performing an important and beneficent part in the general economy of nature, are hurtful and deadly to those who use them improperly. Among the indigenous trees of the British isles, there is one tree—the sombre yew—that stands out in strong contrast by reason of the deadly juices of its leaves.

Cheerless, unsocial plant, that loves to dwell
Mid skulls and coffins, epitaphs and tombs.

And who would expect that amidst the sweet-scented grasses of the field, or among the golden corn, the taint of poison lurks, and that, abreast of the lilies, there is a flower freighted with death? But this only illustrates the fact that every thing in nature must have its gloomy side. These, however, are *prohibited* things. We know their properties; we are warned of their danger; and it is left to our own option to turn from the healthful branches that spread themselves on every hand, to the few exceptions that may be fair but deadly.

It was doubtless owing to this rare, poisonous quality of some plants, that this solitary tree found a place in the symbolism of Eden. It seems like an intruder and an alien among the trees of the garden :

Eden's exotic, somehow smuggled in.

But Paradise can be no exception to the rule that every sunbeam casts a shadow. There is no pleasure but there is pain. Near the tree of life lurks death. There is no continual enjoyment of the tree of life without continual avoidance of the tree of temptation. Obedience implies the possibility of disobedience. The one tree—the tree of life—declares that " in the way of righteousness is *life* ; and in the pathway thereof there is no death."* The other tree—the tree of temptation—says with solemn warning, " there is a way which seemeth right unto a man ; but the end thereof are the ways of *death*." † And here is the moral of the allegory. Man's true life is in God, in whose image he is created, and who is the true home of the human soul. That life, and the happiness that flows from it, are necessarily contingent on trustful obedience to the Divine will. To turn away from God, to forsake the only source of life, and to be beguiled by the bewitching form of created things, by the dazzling world-phenomenon—here symbolically represented by the forbidden tree ; ‡ to love the creature more than the Creator, the visible rather than the Invisible, means withering and dying for the spirit of man. " In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die," or become subject unto death—not an arbitrary penalty, but a natural consequence. §

This tree then is one that shrouds a deep, eternal truth. It bears a very seductive name to finite and limited intelligences. It is " the tree of the *knowledge of good and evil*." It denotes, in form, the tempting range of intellectual enterprise, but, in reality, the discovery of the fearful depths of possible shame, and guilt, and ruin in the moral universe, which lie concealed as yet from the eye of innocence. It is an alluring solicitation to spiritual pride, to become like God in freedom and knowledge—to know in a God-like, not in a creaturely way—the only way, apparently, in which

* Proverbs xii, 28.

† Proverbs xiv, 12.

‡ In the same way the serpent is the symbol of the principle of independence, active in created things, which incites man to a false freedom.

§ Death, under the natural government of God, has been from the beginning a universal condition of life ; death, under moral government, and by reason of sin, becomes retributive in its nature.

a sinless creature can be conceived liable to fall. But, alas! never was knowledge so dearly bought, and never did it turn out to be such a miserable and tormenting gain.

The particular form that this temptation takes in Genesis carries a very suggestive warning for the century in which we live. More perhaps than in any former period—and especially here in India where the book-learning fever runs so high—do we need to be taught that God's facts are better than our dreams; that the attainment of knowledge is not the chief end of existence; that the tree of *knowledge* is not the tree of *life*: and happy is the man who is thus led on even through illusion to the truth; who is turned away, it may be, by disappointment and an aching heart, from the alluring path, to find his happiness in the soul's intuitions instead of in the intellect's dry light; in doing rather than in knowing; who recalls the maxim of Kant that the ultimate end of knowledge is to give replies to the questions, What can I do? What ought I to do? What may I hope for?

But though there is something far higher than mere knowledge, it must not be supposed that it is knowledge in its own nature that is here forbidden. It is not the *thought* of the difference—the perceptive distinction—between good and evil, that is hurtful to a man; for not to know what good and evil are, is a sign, as the Bible says, of either the immaturity of infancy, or the imbecility of age. It is not the thought of evil but the *evil* thought that is here condemned; the opening of the nature to that *experience* of evil, tasted in an act of faithless disobedience, which brings death with it; that fatal knowledge of good and evil which issues in man's taking evil into his very being. Man ought to know evil only as a possibility which he has learned to overcome. He ought only "to *see* the forbidden fruit;"* but if he *eats* it; if he attains the knowledge of evil as a reality in his own life; if he comes to know the greatness of the good by losing it, and the greatness of the evil by feeling it, he has fallen away from the purpose of his creation; "his death is in the act."

To come to know what evil is by bitter experience, to know evil by *being* evil, is no Divine acquirement, neither is it properly a human acquisition. It is, on the contrary, a perversion of our humanity. It comes through breaking away from the restraining will of God; through ceasing to trust implicitly His wisdom and

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* Martensen.

love; through taking to the heart the serpent's lie instead of the Maker's truth; through a false craving for greater freedom, and the attainment of some other good. Adam had to learn, just as a child has to learn, just as we all have to learn, the one great, hard *lesson of obedience*—the first principle of all right education, in the Divine as in the human family. Hence the simple, childish character of the prohibition mentioned in the story—a story whose form is just suited to the childhood of the race. Adam is not told to do anything, simply to refrain from doing; and the single duty God required of him was *faith*. And each sin that has been committed since has been the same simple assertion of self-will; the plucking of some "rosy apple of falsehood" instead of trusting Divine truth; the shaking off of Divine control; the moving away from God as the centre, and the making self or the world the centre; an unwillingness of the individual to be what it is, in its foolish desire to be other than it has been constituted by its Maker.

Let us learn then from the forbidden tree that man's welfare in this world consists largely in abstinence; that the truest joy of our earthly life is found in self-restraint and self-denial; in mastering one's self and in yielding our will loyally to God.

And let us learn to associate real blessing with what God withholds from us, just as much as with what He gives us. A great part of the life of each of us consists in these Divine denials. God denies us wealth, He denies us health, He denies us fame, He denies us friends; but still He is

> Good when He gives, supremely good,
> Nor less when He denies.

The forbidden tree was a baneful tree; that I take to be its essential meaning. It was no arbitrary temptation planted by caprice within reach of man. It is found in the economy of nature; but a higher Wisdom than ours warns us not to touch it; a Love that ever seeks our welfare would do its utmost to protect us from its poisonous taste. "Avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it, and pass away."* The prohibition is not at all severe. 'Of *every* tree save one thou mayest freely eat.' That one solitary tree, standing alone in the midst of an endless variety of trees, shows that man is not denied for the sake of denial, but only for his good. It stood, and stands, "a type and pictured image" into which Divine love is represented as contracting the possibilities of evil, "so as to strip them of their delu-

* Proverbs iv, 15.

sive width and vastness."* The downward pathway of temptation is confined into its narrowest limits, and guarded by such distinct and solemn warning that may well deter men from wandering near it.

How our first parents disregarded the warning, we may not now consider. I close by enforcing the truth that has mainly occupied our attention. The genesis of evil is to be traced to human nature. Man, in virtue of his desires and actual will—which may become *self*-will—may fall from God. It is the terrible possibility of the creature. Minds, like worlds, are placed between two forces. Every moral agent, by the mere fact and manner of his creation, is placed between two unknown worlds, which solicit his choice in opposite directions. The prospect is immense on either side. On the one hand, there is the bright pathway of obedience; on the other, the wide, seductive fields of independence and self-will. The one leads to celestial glory; the other to a dark abyss of gloom and misery, from which only God Himself can rescue those who have gone astray.

The question has been asked, in connection with the dark problem of moral evil, Why did not God destroy the beings that rebelled against Him, and disturbed creation's harmony; or why does He not allow them to abide in the ruin they have brought upon themselves? That is a mystery insoluble from the lower side of existence. But the revelation of the Bible supplies an answer. The problem of evil is solved, and solved only, in the fact of Divine atonement, or the reconciliation of the race to God. In the very chapter that relates the fall of man, the evil is met by the distant but sure hope of his recovery;† and the entire history of the Bible is the record of the working out of the Divine method of salvation. Since true freedom, which is the gift of God, involves the *possibility of evil,* and hence the perversion of the ideal of creation, the *possibility of redemption* is thus eternally established. It is only on the supposition of a possible redemption—which affords a deeper insight into the Divine holiness and love, and a fuller display of victorious grace, than could have been possible in a sinless world—that God, so to speak, can venture upon human sin. Since the will of man determines itself as a will to *sin,* the Divine will of Love determines itself as a will to *save.* Sin is permitted, for it is foreseen and purposed in the counsels of Eternal Love, that by means of the sinless Saviour, sin shall be "put away by the

* See Birk's Difficulties of Belief, p. 105. 2nd Ed. (Macmillan and Co. London.

† See Genesis iii, 15: and cf. 1 Corinthians xv, 22.

sacrifice" of himself;* evil shall be finally and completely vanquished;† and free men, braced by this hope in their daily strife with sin, and trained through suffering, whether in this or in other worlds, to know the essential misery of transgression, shall be at last established in a righteousness beyond any possibility of falling. "Where sin abounded, grace did *much more abound*: that, as sin reigned in death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.‡

T. E. SLATER.

PATTANATTHU PILLEI AND HIS SONGS.

According to generally received tradition, Pattanatthu Pillei, whose real name was Venkata Chetty, was born at Kaveripatnam, in South India, probably near the close of the sixteenth century. In its palmiest days the town of his birth is said to have contained sixty thousand inhabitants, and to have been remarkable for commercial enterprise and wealth. But a pious chronicler informs us that its citizens became irreligious, and ceased to worship God, and as a punishment for their pride and impiety the greatness of the city declined. With the city, however, we are not now concerned. Its wealth and splendour, its growth and decay are but of little interest to us, and may be left for investigation by the antiquary. Probably no one would now mention Kaveripatnam were it not that once Pattanatthu Pillei's home was there. Whatever of interest it now possesses is entirely due to him, so true is it that a man is greater than a city.

It would be easy to fill a volume with stories concerning Pattanatthu Pillei,—incidents of his life, various accounts of the manner of his death and narratives of his appearance and doings after death. Some of these stories are very marvellous. But they are mere fables, and only serve to indicate that the land which has produced them has a genius for fiction and will some day produce famous novelists. Such stories would not constitute a biography of the poet.

So far as I know, there has been as yet no attempt to give to the Tamil people a trustworthy life of Pattanatthu Pillei. The following are the only Tamil sketches of his life which are known to me;

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* Hebrews ix, 26.

† See John i, 29; Romans xi, 32; 1 Corinthians xv, 25, 26; Colossians 1, 20; 1 John iii, 8.

‡ Romans v, 20, 21.

viz., (1) A Sketch occupying some forty pages, in the volume entitled Pattanatthu Pillei's Puranam; (2) another in the Veisiya Puranam; (3) a M.S. in the Oriental Library. These accounts are chiefly made up of fabulous and incredible statements. The brief sketch in the Tamil Plutarch contains nothing of distinctive value. If there be any other materials of a reliable nature, which would aid in making the poet's biography more complete, I should be glad to know of them. The present sketch is, as far as possible, based upon statements found in the poet's own writings. Accepting the general tradition that his real name was Venkata Chetty we learn from his writings that he was a merchant and a man of considerable wealth. He was married, and lived with his family, surrounded by many relatives and friends. In due time sons were born to him, how many, does not appear. The popular statement is that he had no children, but we cannot discredit his own testimony. He appears to have devoted himself with diligence to his commercial pursuits, to which he cherished an almost passionate attachment, until circumstances occurred which led him to renounce all his wealth, and leaving the pursuits which had been so dear to him, to adopt the garb and life of a Saniyasi. Whether this resolution was gradually formed will never be known, but the final step was taken through an incident which is again and again referred to in his songs.

The story is, that one day when he had gone to the sea-shore to greet the arrival of a vessel so long absent that he had begun to despair of its return, a fakir called at his house, and begged his wife to give him some food. She requested the man to wait until her husband returned home, as she could do nothing in his absence or without his consent. But the fakir would not stay, and taking an eyeless needle and tearing from his garment a strip of cloth in which he placed the needle, he rolled it up and gave it to the wife of Pattanatthu Pillei with the request that she would give it to her husband on his return. She did so, and when he unrolled the cloth and saw the eyeless needle, he was deeply moved and regarded the whole as a message from God. Reflecting upon this, a conviction sprang up within him which soon ripened into action. That conviction was this, that the world and all that it contained was but vanity, that of all his property and wealth won by earnest toil, he could at last carry with him not even so much as the eyeless needle. In short, the eyeless needle represented to him the value and the fruit of all his labour—'less than nothing, and vanity.'

It was a tremendous discovery. It taught him that for years he had laboured only for what was infinitely beneath him, that life as he had lived it was but a waste—a ruin, that God had made him to be a man, and he had been—but a merchant. With such thoughts his decision was soon made. He resolved to leave the work which he had loved, and the wealth he had won, to relinquish everything and enter on a new life for the sake of God and his own manhood. And he did so. It was a great renunciation, one which might well have elicited the sympathy and admiration of his friends. But as has often happened in similar crises, sympathy was withheld and he had to take the solemn step alone. Tradition says that his friends, and they were many, counselled him against it, but he was deaf to their counsels. Regarding him as a madman, they called in doctors, exorcists, and mantra-mongers to cure his madness, and offerings were also made to gods and demons, but all in vain. By these means his so called madness would not be dispelled. Next, they endeavoured to poison him to save themselves from family dishonour, but even poison failed to do its work. Pattanatthu Pillei had heard what he believed was the call of God, and he was resolved to obey. In one of his songs he himself has told us how his mother, and wife, and children viewed his departure. They withdrew their affection from him. They regarded him as a corpse. When he said 'Good-bye' to all, and went forth with only the *kovanam* of the Saniyasi as his raiment, and the beggar's pot as his wealth, for a moment it must have seemed as if life were a dreary desert. A horror of loneliness must have fallen upon him. Human love had all gone. I doubt if ever he forgot the sadness of that farewell concerning which we find him afterwards singing thus;

> 'A corpse'! in scorn she called me,
> My mother, who me bore:
> 'Go'! said my wife, with wailing;
> Whom with gold I bought before;
> My sons went round my pyre, and broke
> The pots,—sons born in vain!
> *Lord, whose I am, to me no love*
> *Save Thy love doth remain.*
>
> பொது 18.

There is an indescribable pathos in these lines. Life was unspeakably lonely, for all had gone from him save God. But standing there in the wilderness, Pattanatthar was able to say, 'Let all go: God is left'; and to cling with a sublime trust to His abiding love. And he was 'not alone, for God was with him.'

Much might be said concerning this sublime spectacle, but I leave my readers to their own thoughts. In the presence of a spectacle like this we stand with reverent admiration; with reverence for his moral heroism, and probably, with reproach for ourselves. How few of us have the courage to be true to our *highest* convictions of duty.

Turning to the sequel, the well known lines of Wordsworth's *Wanderer* come to my mind. I venture to quote them:

> 'To relinquish all
> We have, or hope, of happiness or joy,
> And stand in freedom loosened from this world,
> I deem not arduous; but must needs confess,
> That 'tis a thing impossible to frame
> Conceptions equal to the soul's desires,
> And the most difficult of tasks to *keep*
> Heights which the soul is competent to gain.'

Our 'Wanderer' Pattanatthar, furnishes an illustration of the truth of these lines. He did not always continue to maintain the moral elevation which he had reached. I have often been informed by ignorant devotees that he was an incarnation of God, and by scholarly Sivites anxious for his reputation, that during the whole of his life as a Saniyasi he lived a pure and spotless life. But all such statements are wholly untrue, and any interpretations of his verses upon which they are made to rest are only foolish ingenuities of exposition into which no Tamil scholar, and certainly no honest man should ever fall.

On this subject we are bound to receive the oft repeated statement of Pattanatthu Pillei himself. And the substance of this is, that though he thus commenced to fulfil a noble purpose, he was a weak and imperfect man who often afterwards fell into immorality and sin. Nowhere does he pose as an extraordinary saint; like the poet Burns, he falls again and again. Like him too he is grandly honest, never hiding his faults, but sorrowfully confessing them in rugged, homely speech before the whole world. As we follow him by means of his songs, we see him sinning and repenting again and again, throughout at least a portion of his life as a Saniyasi. Much as we regret that a picture so fair should have been thus marred, yet his very weakness and imperfection proclaim him to have been human like ourselves and quicken our sympathetic interest in his life. Here is his description of a Saniyasi;—

> Like unto demon, homeless,
> He goes; as corpse lies down;
> As dog, eats what men give him.

Wanders from town to town;
Counts women good, as Mother;
His speech to all is mild;
For he who knows true wisdom
Becometh as a child.

He continued to live the life of a Saniyasi,[1] and to wander from shrine to shrine, singing his songs, meditating on the highest themes and begging his food, until called to his home again by the death of his mother whom he tenderly loved. There is a story current to the effect that when he reached the burning ground and found the people assembled and all preparations made for her cremation, in a frenzy of grief he stoned and drove them away. Then lifting the corpse from the funeral pile, he placed it on plantain branches and covered it with leaves, after which, whilst repeating one of the verses of his beautiful 'Elegy' on his mother, God interposed and the corpse began to burn. But we learn from the 'Elegy' that he himself placed the fire and fulfilled to her this duty of a son. From his mother's grave he returned again to his devotional life. He discovered that there were around him Saniyasis who were devotees only in appearance, and concerning them he asks 'what is the use of men who have no love in their hearts wandering in the jungle, and eating the wind and tying a *kovanam*, and going round with a beggar's shell'? With such men he could have no sympathy, for though himself weak, he was always sincere, and never laid aside his pure aim. And there is no doubt but that he finally triumphed over his weakness and sin. His mother's death was a crisis in his history and probably contributed greatly to his attainment of this triumph. But though the steps by which he climbed the mount of victory cannot be clearly discovered by us, we can distinctly hear the note of triumph in the following lines ;—

Above the eyes of women,
I've climbed, I'm His alone,
The Blessed Guru's ryot;
My Shepherd, Him I own.
Come death or life, I fear not;
I have a heaven now;
No fiction this. Yet dwelling
In flesh is sad I trow.

பொது 59.

As the last line of the above stanza reminds us, his Saniyasi life was full of privation. He suffered much from want of food, as

1 For the duties of a Saniyasi the reader may consult Menu's Institutes.

we may learn from his frequent denunciation of misers, and he speaks not without bitterness of having to follow the rich and tell his want day by day. Sadly enough he tells us in one of his verses that his heart dies within him not for gold nor jewels, nor even from desire for God, but because he is hungry, and has no food.

It is doubtless in one of those times of want that we find him speaking thus, as a fatalist ;—

O what's the use of weeping—
Of moaning out your pain?
And what's the use of worshipping?
If injured, why complain?
All happens as 'tis writ. Poor Heart!
Don't sorrow—Hush! Be dumb.!
For all our good and evil,
By Brahma's will doth come. பொது 37.

It was not easy for piety to flourish in so hard a soil. Nor need we wonder when we find the poet often sighing to be released from the sufferings of earth to the "blessed sleep"—the final felicity. His songs are full of references to death and the beyond. Here are some of the hopes and wishes which they contain :—

Where hunger none is cherished,
Shall I that place ne'er gain?
Where avarice hath perished,
Ah when shall I remain?

Where worldly lust hath vanished,
There shall I never be?
And woman's wiles are banished,
That place shall I ne'er see?

The place all else excelling:
Oh shall I never join?
The place beyond all telling,
Ah when shall it be mine? முதல்வன்முறையீடு 69-71.

And again ;—

In jungle, near some bush, or by the sea,
In the rich country, city it may be;
'Mid city's stir, or in some happy home,
Or on street pial death to me may come;
I know not: but O One Eternal Lord,
Thy foot unto my soul shall help afford.

Here is his prayer ;—

One prayer I have O God. When I am old,
And cough and phlegm me follow where I go;
And my eyes sink, and knowledge flickers low,
And body faileth. May some one then fold

> My hands as if in worship, and with care
> May I the ashes on my brow then wear
> Of Trivottiyûr's Good Lord, and pray the sacred prayer.

Readers may compare with these, Wordsworth's lines ;—

> " Come, labour, when the worn out frame requires
> Perpetual sabbath ; come, disease and want,
> And sad exclusion through decay of sense,
> But leave me unabated trust in Thee."

Turning to the works of Pattanatthu Pillei, those which now exist are not voluminous. The largest volume published contains only about one hundred and thirty pages of poetry reputed to be his. But, the first five poems in this volume, viz.,—*Koilnânmanimâlei, Mummanikkôvei* I and II, *Tiruvottiyûr Tirukuṟuntokei, Tiruvêkambamudeiyâr Tiruvanthâthi,* which are also printed in the Pathinôrâm Tirumuṟei [1] —are certainly spurious, and were never written by him. The last of these poems reads like a far-off imitation of Kamban, and the language and style of them all are totally different from the genuine poems. They contain many statements and allusions which are inconsistent with the teaching of Pattanatthu Pillei, and the *Anthâthi* can only exert a corrupting influence on youthful readers. The personal element so characteristic of the poet's songs, and which gives to them a vital and pathetic interest, is absent from these spurious poems. Compared with his they are strongly pedantic, and by their stiffness and artificiality fail to touch the heart of the reader. In short these spurious poems are mere manufactured dead images, while Pattanatthu Pillei's verses are as forms breathing with life. They read as if they had been written to order, as if produced for the purpose of propping up a debasing idolatry with which Pattanatthu Pillei had no sympathy. For Tamil poetry at its best is the strong enemy of Hindu idolatry and priestcraft, and our Tamil youth will find that they can draw nearest to God, not by the ceremony of the priest, but by the song of the poet. At present it may be convenient, though it is surely cruel—to have the poet's name linked with a corrupt worship by means of these poems, and a temporary sanction may thus seem to be given to popular rites, but retribution will follow the wrong in due time. His genuine poems have been repeatedly printed in small volumes, and sold at a low price and very widely circulated. They are never permitted to be out of print. But these spurious

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[1] There are also other spurious poems in the *Pathinôrâm Tirumuṟei, e.g.* those of காரைக்கால் அம்மையார். G. M. C.

poems cannot be procured from any bookseller in a separate form, and for years past no edition of them has been called for by the public. I have been assured by the booksellers in our 'Paternoster Row' that the public do not care for them, and that even if published separately they would not sell. In other words, Pattanatthu Pillei's poems are eagerly sought for, but these spurious poems are rejected by the Tamil public. It would be out of place to mass all the proofs of their spuriousness in a paper like this, and it is unnecessary for the case against them is too strong. With these general remarks I leave my readers to investigate the matter for themselves. Another, *viz.*, the last poem in this volume (Udarkût-truvaṇṇam) is not Pattanatthu Pillei's. The author of the Tamil Plutarch quotes it as having been written by Arunaghiri Nathar, and I have no doubt but that it is rightly ascribed to him. It corresponds in structure to *Tiruvaghuppu* and is wholly unlike Pattanatthu Pillei's poems. It is alike due to the Tamil public and to the memory of Pattanatthar that these poems should no longer continue to be published as his. They are certainly not his, and will never be accepted as his by an intelligent public. It may be that the authorities concerned, have until now felt it to be their duty to pass on without critical examination all writings purporting to be his, but if from the Tamil edition of his works soon to be issued, they will exclude these poems, and at the same time endeavour to supply a sketch of the poet's life which would be fairly credible, they would more nobly discharge their duty, and merit the gratitude of the public. Fiction has its place in literature, but that place is certainly not in a poet's biography, and it is now high time that an intelligent and impartial criticism should begin its work on our Tamil literature, so that the fiction which has been long retailed as fact, may be cast out, or where it is worth retaining, called by its true name. The list of poems and works in Tamil falsely attributed to celebrated writers is a long one, and offers an inviting field for honest critical labour.

We come now to the genuine poems of Pattanatthu Pillei. These are only about twenty in all, to which must be added a number of small fragments. His poems are simple songs of the heart, full of sweet and lofty thoughts, and often intensely pathetic. His life is laid bare even to its inmost secret, and he appears as he is, without even the thinnest guise of hypocrisy. This is why men love his songs. Then, too, he is intensely human; in his weakness and sin, and in his longings after goodness.

His poems are generally utterances to God, or soliloquies with his own heart. In language they cannot be termed classical, though perfectly correct, and they do not abound in the graces and refinements of the Tamil speech. They are too full of force and pathos, to admit of much finish. They cannot be compared in grandeur of diction with those of Taiyumanavar, yet they appeal to a wider circle of readers, and there are echoes of Pattanatthu Pillei even in the poetry of Taiyumanavar. Pattanatthar's elegy on his mother is the finest poem of the kind I have met with in Tamil, and indeed I know of nothing in English poetry more tenderly pathetic. Cowper's well known lines 'On the receipt of his Mother's Picture' come nearer to it than any other. Charges might be laid against him of occasional coarseness, of a lack of refinement here and there, and this indeed is one of the greatest faults of Tamil literature. But I have only found a few such verses in the whole of his poetry. There are perhaps ten verses in all, which I have been unable to translate into English, but no more. It should be said also that such verses are not written with a view of palliating sin or of stimulating men to its commission, and it should be remembered that the age in which the poet flourished was ruder than our own. There are seventeenth century English poets whose writings we should not now venture to read aloud.

Since his poems are the echoes of his own life they have little of laughter in them. He is jocular only once. Speaking of how all his friends had cast him off, he corrects himself by adding that two gentlemen have constantly remained with him, whose affection he must acknowledge; *viz.*, his Mat (for sleeping on) and his Sickness. His life was hard, hence it is not to be wondered at if much of the music which filled it was in the minor key, but we find also many passages expressive of high, pure joy.

We wish that some knowledge of Pattanatthu Pillei's last days had come down to us, but there is nothing to tell us definitely how and when he died. There are various stories current as to the manner of his death, all marvellous and incredible, but these need not be narrated here. It is probable that he died at Tiruvottiyûr near Madras, and his tomb is there.

In studying his history let us take him at his best. The great lessons of his life may be summed up in a sentence; *viz.*, If need be, every thing must be given up for God and for Truth, and Duty must be done at any cost. With regard to the poet's creed, his poems

do not leave us in the dark.* We must assume that up to the time when he entered on the life of a Saniyasi, his creed and practice were in the main those of the orthodox Hindu of his time. To the customary ceremonial observances for home and temple he doubtless gave such attention as was common to the men of his class and city; in short, he was an average Hindu. According to Menu, the Saniyasi has practically no connection with temple worship and ceremonialism. The man who has entered 'the fourth order' has left these things behind, is free from their yoke of bondage from that hour. It is clear that Pattanatthar did not strictly observe Menu's rules in his ascetic life, it would be foolish to expect him to have done so. He was a Sudra and a Sivite, and there is no reason to believe that he was acquainted with these rules. But as the natural result of separation from the world and meditation on the intimate union between the soul and God is to lessen the value of ceremonialism, to make a man independent of it, we may assume that such a result happened to Pattanatthar. And if we carefully study the genuine poems which are left to us, we shall find signs of a progress towards this result, a development of the thought of the writer, a growing clearness of light in his teaching.

And just as the finest fruit may be expected from the tree not at the commencement of its growth, but at its fullest maturity, so this fruit of *yogam, viz.*, entire separation from ceremonialism, where it appears ripest in his poetry must naturally belong to the poet's later years. There can be no doubt but that the gulf between him and popular Hinduism was an ever widening one, after his separation from the world. He was a worshipper of God under the name of Siva, not the Siva of Brahmanical teaching but the Siva of the Tamil people. The conception of Siva as the destroyer in the Trimurti appears to be a mere Brahmanical device for bringing worshippers freely under their sway, and is disclaimed by Tamil literature, and by the Tamil people. To Pattanatthar, Siva is God. He is not Brahma, nor Vishnu, nor Rudra.[1] Brahma and Vishnu cannot even see Him. This is how he speaks of Him. He is 'One;'[2] 'the Supreme intelligence;'[3] 'without form;'[4] 'every-

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* It should be said that the student must make himself acquainted with the Tattva philosophy otherwise many of Pattanatthu Pillei's verses will be wholly unintelligible to him.

1 முதல்வன்முறையீடு 32.
அருட்புலம்பல் 80.
திருத்தில்லை 12.

2 அருட்புலம்பல் 46.
3 அருட்புல 81.
4 அருட்புல 57.

where; '[1] 'perfect;'[2] 'beyond all generations;'[3] for whom there is 'no country and no name.'[4] He 'loves those who are loveless,'[5] 'He forgives human sin.'[6] He is 'without increase or decrease,'[7] and is 'invisible.'[8] He is 'the illimitable one.'[9] 'Science cannot find Him.'[10] He cannot be shut up in a book,'[11] but He makes 'His home in the hearts of his lovers.'[12] 'He is the preserver of soul and body and all worlds.'[13]

According to Pattanatthar, God has assumed a form and come to this world as the spiritual Guru,[14] and it is worthy of remark that for this Guru he has no name. The Guru is beheld only by the mind.[15] He enlightens man,[16] He saves him;[17] He destroys the spell of the senses;[18] He is the Shepherd of man[19] and his Lord. He preserves all living creatures[20] and conducts man to heaven.[21] The Guru is greater than all beside.[22] Practically, God and the Guru are one.

In speaking of the poet's doctrine concerning God, reference must be made to the fact that he speaks of Parvathi as in union with Siva. But though God thus seems to be dual, He is in reality, One.[23] He appears to hold the doctrine of Parvathi in its pure philosophic form, maintaining not only the unity of God, but guarding also the purity of the Divine nature.[24] Carnal desire is absent from God. The popular and more modern teaching that Parvathi is the wife of Siva, is a gross corruption of the older philosophic doctrine.

Pattanatthu Pillei does not respect caste distinctions.[25]

He believes in transmigration,[26] and some of his most pathetic lines are an expression of desire to 'emerge from the troubled sea of births and reach the shore.'[27]

According to him, Sin is ignorance of God; the absence of sincere desire for Him; not worshipping Him;[28] loving the world;[29] not doing good;[30] yielding to passion, to the slavery of the senses or

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1 அருட்புல 26.
2 அருட்புல 57.
3 அருட்புல 98.
4 அருட்புல 81.
5 அருட்புல 65.
6 திருவேகம்பமாலை 9-28.
7 அருட்புல 56-57.
8 அருட்புல 38,
9 அருட்புல 79.
10 அருட்புல 14.
11 அருட்புல 90.
12 பொது 6.
13 அருட்புல 92.
14 அருட்புல 1-2-116.
15 அருட்புல 85.
16 பொது 50.
17 அருட்புல 15.
18 அருட்புல 1-2.
19 பொது 59.
20 வெண்பா 23.
21 முதல்வன்முறையீடு 72.
22 பூரணமாலை 38.
23 பூரணமாலை 59
24 பொது 58.
25 பொது 32.
26 திருவேகம்பவிருத்தம்· முதல்வன் முறையீடு 21-29
27 பொது 23-56.
28 திருவேகம்பமாலை 9.
29 நெஞ்சொடுபுலம்பல் 35.
30 திருவேகம்பமாலை 25.

Maya.[1] He teaches that it must be forsaken, and that Grace as a mother leads man to God; [2] that God bears it away. [3] As to worship, he is not an idolater. More than once idolatry and the ceremonialism of its votaries come under his severest censure. God is not in the idol made of brass or copper.[4] The appointed rites, mantras, and *pûja* which men perform according to the Shastras, are mere vanity,[5] ('perfidy' is the word which he uses). Men who practise all these things, know not how to obtain 'a new birth'; they are floundering in the river unable to find the ford. [6] The Gurus of the people (he refers of course to Brahmans), are 'fools' who tie their 'divine' mantras carefully in a cloth and place under their armpits, but who will not allow a ray of 'the universal light' to enter their minds.[7] As for the poet himself, he says, he will never worship an idol. God is in his heart, and he wants nothing besides. [8] Yet though he speaks thus plainly, men are to be found attempting to explain away his strong language. A Tamil book written by some Gurus for this evil purpose, lies before me as I write, the authors of which, having rudely broken the laws of justice and Tamil grammar discreetly withhold their names. It is evident that Pattanatthu Pillei's worship of God was wholly opposed to the popular practice and in this he claims to have been taught by the Divine Guru himself. He says his prayers were not in words. The flower which he offered to God was not culled from any earthly garden, it was the offering of love. The holy water of which he knew and which cleansed him, was such as could not be sprinkled by any human hand. The lingam which he wore was not a lingam which could be tied. His *pûja* was not begun and finished in a few moments. It was unending, and carried on his heart which was free from all earthly desire.[9]

All this shows us clearly how elevated was his conception of worship. And yet however elevated man's conception of worship, man's best and purest service to God is but a poor offering. This the poet also saw with equal clearness. Here are his own words;

> Unto those who possess it, profit there is by gold;
> But to the gold men prize, what profit do we behold?
> Unto me who adore Thee, everything doth fall;
> Unto Thee, God of Kalastri, profit is none at all.[10]

1 பொது 19
2 திருவேகம்பமாலை 10.
3 திருவேகம்பமாலை 40.
4 பொது 6.
5 பொது 44.
6 பொது 40.
7 பொது 30.
8 பொது 61.
9 பொது 50.
10 திருக்காளத்தி 2.

God was wealth—everything to him, but what was he to God?

It may be asked, what is the poet's creed concerning the final destiny of man? He does not teach a personal immortality. According to him, union with God by absorption into His essence is the final goal. Yet his "Elegy" on his mother shows us that in him, love separated from its object, cries out for re-union on the other side of death. How plaintively he asks God if she has forgotten him, and in what other birth he shall see her once more, reminding us that the human heart everywhere has the same deathless longings. To those of us who hold the doctrine of a personal immortality, this part of the poet's creed appears full of sadness and beset with difficulties. But it should be remembered that the doctrine of human individuality is comparatively modern, and that especially in India its growth is recent. And belief in final absorption is easy and indeed natural, to those who do not hold the doctrine of human individuality, while at the same time it gives unity—though I will not call it the unity of truth—to the Vedantist's creed.

I am tempted to quote a few stanzas from his poems containing directions for life and conduct but I will quote only two;—

> Think:—God is One. The greatest riches are nought at all;
> Have pity for the hungry, and excellent, aye call
> Good actions, friendship. Move not from the mean which is true.
> What God appoints will happen; O Heart, I say to you.
>
> With strong desire, True Guru's feet aye trust. As puppet be.*
> Count body vile, and friends who press, as market crowd to thee;
> For all prosperity of earth will vanish, as doth flow
> The water from a fallen pot. O Heart! this must thou know.' பொது 20-21.

Such are some of the chief points of the poet's teaching. To some readers his clear views of great truths may be a surprise, but to none can they be a cause of regret. For it is impossible to believe that the God of the whole earth has spoken only to the singers and teachers of one nation or race. He is not so isolated from his creatures as to reveal Himself only to men who know Greek or Hebrew. Of Him Tamil singers bear witness, for every gleam of truth visible in our Tamil poetry has come from Him.

The important question of the sources of Pattanatthu Pillei's creed must lie over for the present. There is no reason to believe that his knowledge of truth came from Christian sources, but this we know, that it came from the Source of all truth. I have already

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* *i.e*, passive in God's hands.

referred to the difference between the teaching of the poet and the priest in South India, and the reference might be greatly enlarged. Just as among the Hebrews, the narrow exclusiveness and frequently recurring corruption of the priesthood had to be rebuked and corrected by the greater breadth, fervour, and purity of the prophets, so also among the Hindus, the poets—who are the prophets, have cried out against growing error, and assailed corrupt and foolish practices, however ancient and venerated. Among these prophets of South India, Pattanatthu Pillei must ever hold an honourable place. But the prophets' voices have been drowned by a noisy and corrupt ceremonialism, and their teaching has not yet borne its destined fruit among the people to whom they made their appeal.

Well might they echo the regretful cry of the old Hebrew prophet;—'Who hath believed our report?', for the triumph of ceremonialism and superstition still continues. The prophets' triumph has yet to come. It has been retarded in South India by the fiat and the faithlessness of an unworthy priesthood, by the general ignorance of the masses, and the immense power which a gorgeous ceremonial wields over ignorant men. But even in the meantime signs are not wanting to show that the Tamil people will yet recognise, not the priests, but their own poets, as their true teachers and leaders, and Truth, which has an eternity before it, can afford to wait for its triumph. It is interesting to find men in town and country who, though from custom or force of circumstances attentive to the demands of the priest, are at the same time hiding away in their hearts as treasures passages from the Tamil poets which are entirely opposed to their ostensible creed and practice.

At present, Pattanatthu Pillei shares the general neglect into which the lofty teaching of the best Tamil poets has fallen. He is of course known to multitudes, for men cannot help listening to the sweet pathos of his songs. But he is honoured only by few. Men buy his books, and—reject his teaching. And this is not all. When I went to see the tomb of this great poet who renounced wealth, forsook sin, foreswore all idolatry, and worshipped the One God, I found his countrymen worshipping his dead dust. Alas! that neglect of his teaching should be so sadly emphasized. Surely justice to the memory of one who sinned as other men, and sought mercy at the hands of God as other men must seek it, demands that this should be ended, that at least idolatry should not be practised at his grave. He was the foe of idols. And against such idolatry

the concluding lines of his finest poem are an emphatic protest, and would form for him a fitting epitaph.

> Hewn stone, and chunam image, and copper made to shine
> With tamarind juice, I never will praise as if Divine;
> This certainty I do proclaim, as treasure this adore;
> Within me are the Shining Feet—the twain;—I want no more. பொ. 61.

The following is Pattanatthar's 'Elegy' on his mother to which reference has been made;—

Twice five months she had pain;
She brought me forth at last;
And when my birth was past,
And a boy I chanced to be,
In love she lifted me—
In her rosy hands me laid,
From her golden breast me fed.
Oh in what birth shall I her see again?

Penance, three hundred days
She made; and even and morn
Worshipped till I was born.
Carried me in her womb,
And swelled to make me room.
To my mother who me got
Must I—must I? sad lot!
Even unto her the burning fire now raise?

She reared me tenderly;
In love, beneath her wing
Me folded, sheltering:
From her own cup me fed,
Laid me on cradle bed,
And clasped me to her breast,
And on her shoulder placed.
On the hard wood piled high,
Must such a mother lie?
And now must such a mother burn by me?

My burden oft did tire
And pain her; but to me,
No pain at birth gave she;
She lifted me and placed,
And fed me on her breast,
And by her love I grew,
No want I ever knew,
And in her arms she bore me
All day, aye watching o'er me.
To such a mother must I place the fire?

She spoke sweet words of grace;—
Yet love unsatisfied
With all our speech supplied,—
'Sweet Honey,' 'Nectar';—such pet names would fall,
Or—'My Rich Boy,' whene'er she did me call;
In mouth by sweet words filled,—
My Mother's! by death stilled—
Must I the rice in such a mouth now place? *

Rice only can I bring—
Unto the mouth which blessed me—
Which called, and softly kissed me
When her face on mine she laid
And 'O my son'! she said?
Can I on mother's head—
Now place the fire, and feel no shuddering?

As glowed the burning cities† in the heaven;
As gleamed the fire in Lunka ‡ long ago;
So burns in me the grief her death has given:
The fire I place so let it glow—and glow!

Ah! in the fire it burns:—
Dust—ashes soon will be.
Oh! is there wretch like me?
The hand which me o'erspread
When in my infant bed;
That not a bird § could harm,
Nor give to me alarm,
That kindly—fostering hand to ashes turns!

But is she burnt—and gone?
O Wise God—be not dumb—
To Thy feet has she come;
My mother, who did wait
With joy at thine own gate,
And prayed Thee morn and even,
Until—Thy favour given,
Her boy at last she bore.
Will she ne'er love me more;
Has she forgot me—sorrowing here alone?

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* The last tribute of affection for the deceased.

† Three cities in mythology, built of gold, silver, and iron, and destroyed by Siva for embracing Jainism.

‡ Kindled by Hanuman.

§ *Pakshi Dôsham i.e.* sickness caused to children by the shadow of a flying bird.

'Twas only yesterday—
She with her neighbours talked,
And in the street she walked;
To-day—as dust she lies.
Yet let us hush our cries:—
No tears of grief let fall,
For God hath done it all.
Come all of you—pour milk,* now come away!

G. MACKENZIE COBBAN.

THE ÆNEID. I.

From the time of the revival of learning up to about the end of the seventeenth century Virgil was looked upon as the first of all poets, and the *Æneid* was considered to be the greatest of Epics. But latterly a reaction has come about and excessive reverence has given place to undue depreciation. It has even been doubted by many modern critics whether Virgil was naturally fitted to write an epic poem at all. Niebuhr, the great historian of Rome, leads the ranks of those who profess this view. He gave it as his verdict that the whole of the *Æneid* from the beginning to the end is a misconceived idea and that Virgil is one of the most remarkable instances of the way in which a man can miss his true calling. He ought, according to this critic, to have confined himself to lyrical poetry in which, as is shown by his small poems, he would have rivalled Catullus, if he had not been led away by his ambition to write a great Græco-Latin poem. Richter agrees with Niebuhr in thinking that he was quite right in wishing to commit his *Æneid* to the flames, thus trying sophistically to support this disparaging view out of Virgil's own mouth. But such paradoxical judgments are sure to be wrong and are not likely to change the world's judgment. Macrobius said fourteen hundred years ago, "Such is the glory of Maro that no man's praise can increase it, no man's censure can diminish it." The world has placed Virgil in the first rank of Epic poets, and having retained that position for nearly two thousand years he will retain it for ever. No doubt the *Æneid* is full of faults, but the very number and distinctness of these defects testifies to the greatness of the poem, which, in spite

* Milk is poured on the charred remains, the day after cremation.

of these defects, stands in the front rank of all literature. Even in his own lifetime or immediately after his death the critics gave themselves infinite trouble to find out the weak points in the *Æneid*. *Obtrectatores Virgilio nunquam defuerunt.* Bavius and Mævius have never wanted literary descendants. The earlier critics chiefly occupied themselves in pointing out Virgil's thefts from previous poets. Virgil undoubtedly made a full use of the labours of his predecessors and borrowed their thoughts and language without the least hesitation. But for him, in the matter of these thefts, the Imperial excuse may be made. We may say that, like Cæsar, Virgil did never wrong but with just cause. No higher honour could be given to any poet than to have his thoughts or words enshrined in the *Æneid*. Many an old line from the early Roman poets would never have known immortality, had it not been worked into the Virgilian mosaic. Such thefts on Virgil's part were real acts of generosity. He loved the rough old annalists and showed his admiration and affection by inserting in his poem some of their best lines chosen with admirable taste. The borrowed lines were sometimes slightly altered, if they were too rugged to harmonise with his own melodious verse; but he carefully avoided transforming them more than was necessary. Such a process equally blessed him who gave and him who took. The old annalist had his best lines immortalised and the great poet added to the charm of his poem by calling up many an antiquarian reminiscence of the earlier days of Roman poetry. Virgil could, no doubt, if he had liked, have put instead entirely original lines of his own, and lines of better quality in themselves, although their poetical effect would have been less, as they would not have carried back the minds of his hearers to the days of old.

In considering the *Æneid* we must be careful not to confine ourselves to one point of view or our estimate of its value will be wrong. The *Æneid* is not only to be looked upon as a narrative poem describing an early stage of society. It is that, and a great deal more besides, and in its many sidedness lies its great charm. It is a narrative poem like the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Argonautica* and many other poems, but it may be also described as a descriptive poem, an antiquarian poem, a religious poem, a historical poem, and in addition to all this it contains an elaborate exposition of two profound philosophical theories. Unless it is regarded in all these lights, it will be undervalued. Indeed the poem has suffered very much at the hand of critics who have exclusively regarded it from

one point of view. They have looked upon it simply as a narrative Epic, and, seeing its inferiority as a narrative to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and perhaps even to some lesser poems, have come to the conclusion that it is unworthy of its great reputation. But the power of a poem is not like that of a chain to be estimated by the strength of its weakest part. No one can deny the defects of the *Æneid* as a narrative poem. The events related and the characters portrayed are often dull and uninteresting, and in this respect it is inferior not only to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* but also to many a modern English novel. But these defects must not be exaggerated. The narrative of the *Æneid* is not always tame and uninteresting. One at least of Virgil's characters stands forth conspicuously in the splendid portrait gallery of the literature of the world. Dido can take her place without fear of disparagement beside Clytæmnestra, Medea, Francesca di Rimini, and Lady Macbeth; and, as long as she is on the scene as chief actress, the poem never flags for a moment. It is true that of the characters in the poem she is first and the rest nowhere. Æneas is one of the heaviest and most tiresome of heroes and the injustice of his cause makes him still more repulsive. Turnus, his adversary, would be a brilliant figure and is so when Æneas is absent, but the necessities of the poem, which make it requisite, that he should be defeated and show distinct inferiority when in contact with Æneas, take away from the dignity of his character and make our sympathy rather pity than admiration. Of the minor characters Lavinia is a woman with no will and no individuality, while Camilla is a bright vision on the epic page, the virgin mother of Tasso's Clorinda and Spencer's Britomarte, but hardly a woman. Pallas and Lausus are both interesting and their ends are full of pathos, but their characters are not discriminated as they would have been by an inventive dramatic poet, and we cannot help feeling that Pallas would have spoken and acted in Lausus' place just as Lausus speaks and acts, while Lausus could as easily have played the part of Pallas. There is a very strong family likeness between all the old men in the poem, Acestes, Anchises, and Evander. In Mezentius the poet tries to represent a strong contrast, but he who is described as a contemner of the gods and a scorner of all laws, human and divine, conducts himself when he takes part in the action of the poem like an affectionate father. The scenes of wandering and the battle pieces in the *Æneid* are rather tame, compared as they must be consciously or unconsciously with similar scenes in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, but still

they can well stand comparison with any other similar Epic poem. Inferior in this respect to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the *Æneid* is quite equal to the *Jerusalem Delivered* or the *Paradise Lost*. Part of the slowness of the tale is due to the unsuitability of the heavy Latin hexameter to rapid narration. The Latin hexameter is much more spondaic and monotonous than Homer's verse. Although Homer continually puts spondees in the fifth foot, he uses about ten per cent. more dactyls than Virgil. This produces greater rapidity and greater variety. Homer has often verses with five dactyls and occasionally verses with five spondees. Virgil has hardly ever more than four, and hardly ever less than three spondees. How much the dullness of a narrative depends on the heaviness of the metre may be seen by the change often produced by translations. In the original Homer is rapid and Virgil slow. But the *Odyssey* in Worsley's Spenserian stanza moves slowly and heavily, while the *Æneid*, translated by Conington into Scott's metre, is transformed into a rapid and lively narrative, which may be read without effort from beginning to end for the mere story's sake. But Conington's translation cannot be commended as a successful rendering. In spite of its verbal accuracy, the great dissimilarity of the metre chosen produces an effect as different as possible from the original. Dryden's stately heroics although far less literal give a much better idea of the poem translated. Conington's success in turning Virgil into an interesting narrative poem does, however, show a great difficulty which Virgil had to contend against, namely the want of a metre which wedded to Latin words should be able to suit the requirements of rapid narration.

Virgil was under another disadvantage when compared with Homer. He attempts to describe a state of society that had long passed away, while the Greek poet on the contrary lived in the middle of the state of society he described. Therefore it is that, in spite of all his antiquarian knowledge, Virgil cannot prevent an air of unreality from pervading his pictures of ancient life. Occasionally he is guilty of palpable anachronisms. For instance when he tells us that Dido had built a shrine in honour of her dead husband Sichaeus, that Æneas would celebrate the day of his father's death with annual funeral processions, that the Trojans sailed in biremes and triremes, and that the Greeks beat down the walls of Priam's palace with a battering ram, he is transferring to the heroic age the manners and customs of historic times and of imperial Rome. Besides such distinct anachronisms, there is often a less

palpable anachronism in the sentiments expressed. Virgil does not like Shakespeare in *Troilus and Cressida* make the warriors at Troy ride on horses and quote Aristotle, but, for all that, his heroes and heroines sometimes act and speak in a way which is just as incongruous with the character of the early age he described. But this interpolation of the spirit of a later age into the poem constitutes one of its chief charms to modern minds. Some of the favourite passages with modern readers are full of the melancholy of a later age. Such is the line—

Sunt lacrimæ rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt ;*

and the delicate modesty of Dido's answer to Æneas' prayer for help,—

Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.†

The pity felt by Æneas for Lausus when that young warrior is moved by filial affection to brave his spear, breathes the spirit of a later age and is strangely incongruous with the savage taunts levelled by Æneas against the fallen Mezentius and the human sacrifice he offers in honour of the slain Pallas. But this melancholy is rather to be seen in the whole poem than in individual passages. In the descriptions of battles there is always in the background a yearning for a return to the peaceful agricultural life that Æneas' arrival had harshly interrupted, and in the many references to the great civil wars of the time there is an intense pity at the devastation caused and a deep yearning for a time of peace, when each man might sit securely under his own vine and his own fig tree.

The *Æneid* is also a descriptive poem. Virgil's love for Italian scenery has many an opportunity of expressing itself in the last seven books of the poem. In the beginning of the sixth book the wandering crew land at last on the hoped-for shore of Italy, in the midst of the scenes best known to his manhood, at Baiæ, afterwards the Brighton of Rome, some ten miles distant from his home and last resting place at Naples. Afterwards the scene changes to the banks of the Tiber and the neighbourhood of the seven hills. All this the poet describes with loving pen, and the mustering of the Italian chiefs gives him the opportunity of speaking of more distant parts of Italy. In calling him however a descriptive poet we must not suppose that he interrupts the thread of his story to give long accounts of the details of any landscape, as Scott and

* There are tears for human fortune, and hearts which are touched by mortality. *Conington.*

† Not being ignorant of evil I am learning to succour the wretched.

Byron continually do. Such a procedure would be foreign to the simplicity of ancient poetry. He never lets the background of wood, river and hill become prominent enough to obscure the actors, and is generally content to describe by a single line or a single epithet. Even when Æneas first looks from the sea on the sacred Tiber, the description of its mouth only occupies some three or four lines. The poet merely tells us that "Æneas from the sea beholds a great grove. The Tiber divides it with his pleasant stream, a river with whirling eddies and yellow with thick sand; here it bursts forth into the sea; around and above were birds of various plumage, which haunting the banks and channel of the stream charmed the air with their song and flew in the grove."* The same reserve is shown when Æneas, with Evander for his guide, surveying the seven hills sees the site of the golden Capitol overgrown with tangled brushwood, and hears the cattle lowing on the site of the Roman forum. Yet Virgil's short, terse descriptions are more effective than the longer pictures of other poets who are determined to be picturesque whenever they have a chance. To his countrymen, as to us, the mere roll of sounding Italian names of places must have called up many images of beauty by the force of association. He seldom lets the name of an Italian town pass without some loving epithet. In the matter of natural scenery, as in other respects, Virgil is a link between modern and ancient poetry. He does not set himself to describe scenery so deliberately as modern poets, but he is more apt to do so than perhaps any of his predecessors, and more than any other ancient poet he is fond of tracing the sympathy or want of sympathy between nature and man. Virgil, like Wordsworth, when world-wearied with the complications of civilised life, and the violence of political struggles, and the horrors of foreign and civil war turns to nature for relief and envies the peaceful inhabitants of the country their happy lot. The calm of nature is, or ought to be, in his opinion the best sedative, when the mind is tossed by stormy passions or oppressed with the load of life. Thus he finely contrasts Dido's passion-troubled soul with the calm of night, and laments that she could not derive repose from the tranquillity of nature. "'Twas night and weary bodies throughout the world were enjoying quiet repose, and the woods and wild waves had sunk to rest; at the hour when the stars are in the midst of their circling course, when every field is still, when beasts and painted birds, both

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* *Æneid* VII, 30—34 (Globe Translation).

those that haunt the wide waters of the Mere, and those that dwell in the savage thickets of the country, hushed in sleep beneath the silent night, soothed their sorrows and their hearts that had forgot their troubles. But not so the Phœnician wretched in soul ; and never does she sink to sleep, or *take in the night with eyes or bosom ;* her pain redoubles, and her love again swells up and surges, and she is swayed with a mighty tide of passion."* Elsewhere the poet shows a strong tendency towards the pathetic fallacy the frequency of which in modern poetry has been pointed out by Ruskin, and represents nature as sympathising with human joy and suffering. At the union of Dido and Æneas the conscious air flashed auspicious fires, and when the Marruvian priest was wounded to death by the Trojan spear point, the grove of Augnitia wept for him, Fucinus with its glassy pool, and the crystal Meres. This idea of the sympathy between nature and man is rare in ancient poetry, but can be abundantly illustrated from English poets. Thus in *Paradise Lost,* when Eve ate the fruit of the forbidden tree,

> Earth felt the wound, and nature from her seat,
> Sighing through all her works, gave sign of woe
> That all was lost.

And when Adam followed her example,

> Sky loured, and, muttering thunder, some sad drops
> Wept at conclusion of the mortal sin.

In Tennyson's well-known song the lover makes each of the flowers of the garden re-echo his own sentiments. The Latin poet also resembles the modern picturesque school when he contrasts the supposed peacefulness of nature with the havoc wrought upon the earth by human anger and cruel wars. Thus it is that he is so fond of drawing away the mind from the battles he is describing by similes and other means to the calm peace of agricultural life and scenes of nature. The mood in which he looked upon nature when he was thinking of the ravages of war and passion is very nearly that expressed in Wordsworth's lines—

> To her fair works did nature link
> The human soul that thro' me ran,
> And much it grieved my soul to think
> What man has made of man.

We must next look to the antiquarian interest of Virgil's great

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* *Æneid* IV. 522-530. Conington aptly illustrates the italicized passage by quoting Tennyson's

> "Ever failed to draw
> The quiet night into her blood."

poem. Perhaps this feature was more attractive to the fellow countrymen of the poet, than it can be to us moderns. For the antiquarianism of the *Æneid* is Italian and Roman, and the Romans were more than any other people enamoured of the past and lovers of antiquarian lore. Still although the antiquarianism had a special charm in the eyes of the ancient Roman, it captivates the general reader too, and heightens the dignity of the poem. We have seen already with what loving care Virgil enshrined in his verse the rough beginnings of Latin literature, polishing them enough to avoid glaring incongruity with the rest of his poem, but not enough to destroy their individuality. In a similar spirit he scatters through his poem at every available opportunity references to old customs and old fables, so that the poem is a perfect storehouse of antiquarian lore. Such was the value of the *Æneid* on this account that Niebuhr, who as we have seen is far indeed from being a blind admirer, allows that the *Æneid* displays a learning of which an historian can scarcely avail himself enough, and declares that it is only learned scholars and good historians that are able to be Virgilian commentators. Virgil, in spite of his professed admiration of the golden age of Augustus, is in reality more deeply imbued with reverence for the past. In his eyes the work of Augustus would only be completed, when he had restored to the world antique faith and the sanctity of Rome's primitive deities. As Servius remarks, the poet is so fond of antiquity that the epithet *antiquus* (ancient) as used by him is an epithet of love and reverence. The members of the great Roman families were delighted to find their ancestry traced in the *Æneid* to Trojan or old Italian Chiefs. First of all Augustus was exalted by being represented as the direct descendant of Æneas, through Iulus or Julus, Æneas' son. The Memmii, Sergii, and Cluentii were traced back to Mnestheus, Serestus, and Cloanthus, three of the competitors in the ship race. The Claudian house is flattered by having an ancestor Clausus introduced as leading a Sabine contingent to support Turnus. In the Trojan game one of the leaders is Atys, who is declared to be the ancestor of the Atii, to which family the mother of Augustus belonged. In like manner Tasso delights to trace the descent of the noble Italian families of his time to the crusaders who followed Godfrey to Jerusalem.

A great deal of his antiquarianism is displayed in his description of religious ceremonies and of the old religious beliefs of Italy. It was towards religion that his antiquarian taste was particularly directed and in the description of religious ceremonies that his

antiquarian knowledge was most brilliantly displayed. Macrobius mentions with admiration his deep knowledge of pontifical and augurial rites, of the worship of the infernal deities, and the accuracy of terminology with which he describes sacrifices. All through the *Æneid* the religious Roman could recognize innumerable references more or less distinct to religious formulæ and practices. When Cymodoce warns Æneas of the danger, which threatened his son and the Trojan camp, she says to him "*Vigilasne? Vigila,*" (Do you watch? Watch,) using the formula with which the vestal virgins on a fixed day in the year approached the *rex sacrificulus*. "Virgil" remarks Servius "rightly uses this form of address to Æneas as he was king and pontifex." The most searching criticism failed to convict the poet of any error in his many accounts of religious ceremonies. The failure to detect error was not for want of trying. "Certain hypercritical writers," says Boissier, as quoted by Cruttwell in his History of Roman Literature "found out that Virgil was sometimes mistaken. They reproached him with having made Æneas sacrifice a bull to Jupiter when he stopped in Thrace and founded a city there, and, according to Ateius Capito and Labeo, the lights of pontifical science, this was almost a sacrilege. There, they said, you have your pontifex ignorant of that which even the sacristans know! But we can answer that this very sacrifice was just the one which was not acceptable to the gods, and that they soon forced Æneas by dread portents to remove from the country. Thus the belief that the pontifical science of Æneas was in fault leaves Virgil's reputation untouched." This explanation of the passage criticised, originally given by Macrobius, is rejected as conceivable indeed but unlikely by Conington, who seems inclined to adopt Henry's view, that Æneas' offering of a white bull to Jupiter was in accordance with his kingly character, as is shown by one of the Julian's epistles to Libanius, in which that Emperor writes, "I sacrificed, in kingly style, a white bull to Jupiter." Whichever of the two explanations we accept, Virgil's antiquarian knowledge remains unconvicted of error. His minuteness in the description of sacrifices and other religious ceremonies is characteristic of the typical poet of a nation, which at any rate in the great days of the republic was pre-eminently religious in war and in peace. Roman generals began every campaign with the religious ceremony of taking the auspices, and ended it, if victorious, with the religious ceremony of an ovation or a triumph. Virgil was as religious as Dante and Milton, and to him

religion consisted to a great extent in belief in the efficacy of sacrifices and the truth of omens. Homer has put into Hector's mouth a sublime expression of superiority to the science of augury. When told by Polydamas that the omens are adverse to the assault of the Grecian camp, he replies "I care not for birds whether they fly to right or left. My one best omen is my country's cause," but for all that the omens he disregarded were, it must be confessed, only too well fulfilled. In the age immediately preceding his own, Cicero, himself a pontifex and augur, wondered that an augur could meet a brother augur without laughing in his face; and Lucretius thundered against ceremonial and sacrifice in the spirit and almost in the words of Hebrew prophecy. "It is no piety," says the great Epicurean poet, "to be seen often veiled turning to a stone and approaching every altar; nor to lie at full length on the ground and stretch out hands before the shrines of the gods, and sprinkle the altars with much blood of beasts." But Virgil did not in this respect follow the lead of his philosophical predecessor. His hero Æneas is distinguished from all other heroes by the constant epithet pious, and he shows his piety not only by the moral virtue of filial affection but also by paying sacrifice and obeying omens on every occasion. The great mission of Æneas is to introduce the gods of Troy into Italy and teach the people how duly to worship them. When he reveals his name to a stranger the first fact he mentions as his highest claim to renown is not his valour, but the pious care he had taken in preserving the gods of fallen Troy. "I am," he says, "the pious Æneas, who rescued from the foe my household gods, and in my fleet carry them with me; I am known by fame above the sky."* Later on, when he arranges the conditions of his single combat with Turnus he declares that, if he wins the victory, he does not wish to rule over the Italians, provided they accept the Trojan gods and Trojan ceremonies. All through the poem, both in Italy and Carthage, the will of the gods is considered a sufficient justification of injustice and cruelty. It is the piety of the hero of the *Æneid* that leads him to the action which constitutes his great crime in modern eyes, his desertion of Dido. He left Carthage and the Carthaginian Queen in obedience to the direct command of the gods, and this is the excuse that he makes to the shade of Dido, when he meets her in the lower world. Like Ajax at the sight of Ulysses in the *Odyssey*,

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* *Æneid*, i. 378 (Globe Translation.)

Dido will not deign to utter a word to her old lover. He shed tears and tried to soothe her indignation. "By the stars I swear" he pleads "by the gods above, and by whatever bond of honour exists in the depth of the earth, unwillingly, O Queen, I retreated from your coasts. But the command of heaven it was, which now compels me to travel through these shades, through regions overgrown with mould, and through the abyss of night, that forced me by its behests."* Sympathising as we do with the deserted Dido, we are glad to find that she is moved by her recreant lover's prayers "no more than if she were a solid rock or a Marpessian crag." But it must be remembered, that what we think the weak or even repulsive points in the character of Æneas arose from his deep piety, which made him a simple instrument of the will of heaven for a great purpose and thereby robbed him of all individuality. He is most of all distinguished by his assiduity in performing the religious duties of prayer and sacrifice and by his resignation to the will of the gods. He never utters against Juno, the goddess who persecutes him, such passionate words of anger as the Homeric Achilles hurls at Apollo. Plato declared that Homer's poems were to be excluded from his ideal Republic chiefly on account of the impious language used against the gods by the Greek heroes, but the most pious Greek or Roman could hardly find any such reprehensible speeches in the *Æneid* except those proceeding from the mouth of Mezentius, the despiser of the gods. In the description of the lower world the poet gives an elaborate theory of future rewards and punishments based upon mythology and combined with other elements derived from philosophy. To this divine vision Æneas gains admittance owing to his great piety shown in the whole course of his wanderings from the time when he saved the household gods and his father from the fires of Troy. Such being the character of the hero, the *Æneid* is above all from beginning to end a religious poem, as distinctly as the *Divine Comedy* or *Paradise Lost*.

M. MACMILLAN.

THE SACRED BO-TREE OF ANURADHAPURA.

In the northern forests of the beautiful Island of Ceylon—"the land of the hyacinth and the ruby"—lie at the present day the

* *Æneid* VI. 461 (Globe translation.)

ruins of the vast city of Anuradhapura.—Founded about 500 B.C. this city became the seat of government in the reign of Pandukhabaya (437 B.C.) and continued so until about the middle of the eighth century of the Christian era when the invasions of the Malabars had become so frequent as to render necessary the removal of the Court to a more peaceful district.

The Singhalese chronicles are of great antiquity, and the most important of them—the "Mahawanso" or "Genealogy of the Great"—deals with the history of the island from 543 B. C. to the commencement of the fourth century after Christ, and contains much that is of interest regarding the ancient city when it was at the height of its prosperity. The descriptions given in it of the magnificent palaces and other buildings, the beautiful flower gardens, and the extensive parks and artificial lakes, are fully confirmed by the Chinese traveller, Fa Hian, who visited the city at the beginning of the fifth century. At the present day most of the buildings have disappeared, the parks and flower gardens have relapsed into jungle, and only the objects most sacred in the eyes of the Buddhist community survive the desertion and decay of eleven centuries.

Of the latter the most remarkable is undoubtedly the "sacred and pre-eminent Bo-tree" (*Ficus religiosa*) which, according to the chronicles, was planted in the year 288-B.C. and "thus" says the Buddhist historian, "it has stood for ages in the delightful Mahamego garden, promoting the spiritual welfare of Lanka and the propagation of the true religion"!

It obtained its sacred character from the fact that it sprang from a branch of the Bo-tree at Magadha under which the great Gotama reclined when he attained Buddhahood. The ceremony of obtaining and of planting the branch in "the delightful Mahamego garden" at Anuradhapura is discribed with much minuteness in the Mahawanso and the following account of it is derived from that source.

In the reign of king Dewananpiyatissa (Tissa, the beloved of the Gods) the Buddhist priest Mahindo, son of Dhammasoka, king of Magadha, came to Ceylon for the purpose of reviving the religion which had been inaugurated by the Vanquisher of the five deadly sins himself on previous occasions. He met with great success, and the king and most of his subjects were speedily converted. After a while the Princess Anula and 500 other females expressed a wish to enter the priesthood and the King said to Mahindo "Vouchsafe to ordain these females" to which the Thero replied

"Maharajah, it is not allowable to us to ordain females. In the city Pattaliputta there is a priestess. She is my younger sister, renowned under the name Sanghamitta, and profoundly learned. Despatch, Ruler, a letter to our royal father begging that he may send her, bringing also the right branch of the Bo-tree, the monarch of the forests, as also eminent priestesses. When that sapient theri (Sanghamitta) arrives, she will ordain these females." The king sent his nephew, Arittho, to the Court of king Dhammasoka of Magadha begging that the Princess Sanghamitta might be permitted to come to Lanka and bring a branch of the sacred Bo-tree with her. King Dhammasoka at first demurred and thus addressed his daughter; "Bereaved of thee and separated from my children and grandchildren what consolation will there be left wherewith to alleviate my affliction?" To which the dutiful priestess replied "Maharajah, the injunction of my brother Mahindo is imperative, and those who are to be ordained are many, on that account it is meet that I should repair thither." The king consented, and then bethought him how he should obtain a branch of the great Bo-tree to send to his royal brother. He considered that it would not be meet to lop it with any weapon, so he invited the priesthood to a repast, and consulted them upon the subject, whereupon the Chief Priest propounded to the king five resolutions formed by Buddha whilst seated under the Bo-tree; one of which was as follows—"Let the right branch of the great Bo-tree when Asoko is in the act of removing it, severing itself from the main tree, become planted in the vase prepared for it." The king rejoiced and forthwith ordered a golden vase to be made—"resplendent like the meridian sun"—and caused the road to the Bo-tree to be swept and decorated. When the vase was brought the king attended by his army, and by the priesthood, repaired to the Bo-tree which was "decorated with every variety of ornament, glittering with the variegated splendour of gems, decked with rows of streaming banners, laden with offerings of flowers of every hue, and surrounded by the sound of every description of music." After performing obeisance to the tree, the king placed the vase on a golden chair of such a height that the branch could be easily reached, and ascended it himself for the purpose of obtaining the coveted bough. Using vermilion on a golden pencil and therewith making a streak on the branch he said: "If this supreme right Bo-branch detached from this Bo-tree, is destined to depart from hence to the land of Lanka,

let it, self severed, instantly transport itself into the vase." The Bo-branch severing itself at the place where the streak was made hovered over the mouth of the vase which was filled with scented soil. The monarch then encircled the branch with two streaks, and roots, shooting forth, descended into the soil in the vase. The instant the great Bo-branch was planted in the vase the earth quaked and numerous miracles were performed. The king while yet standing upon the golden chair set up a shout which was echoed by the surrounding multitude. "By the howling of the elements, the roar of animals, the screeches of birds, and the yells of the yakkhos as well as other fierce spirits, together with the crashing concussions of the earthquake they constituted one universal chaotic uproar." From the branch brilliant rays of the six primitive colors issued forth illuminating the whole universe, then the great Bo-branch together with its vase springing up into the air remained invisible for seven days in the snowy regions of the skies. At the termination of the seventh day the clouds were dispelled and the enchanting Bo-branch displayed itself to the whole multitude, and "having astounded the congregation by the performance of many miracles" it descended to the earth. The king then took possession of it and had it conveyed in great pomp to the capital, were it remained for some days until it was put on board a superbly decorated vessel on the river Ganges, and in custody of eighteen personages of royal blood, eighteen members of noble families and others. The high priestess Sanghamitta, eleven priestesses and the ambassador, Arittho, also accompanied it. The vessel dashed briskly through the ocean, and reached its destination in a remarkably short space of time. King Dewananpiyatissa having received intimation of its approach had caused the highroad from Anuradhapura to the seaport to be decorated, and on the arrival of the vessel his Majesty, rushing into the waves up to his neck, received the precious Bo-branch and deposited it in a hall which he had caused to be built on the beach for its reception, and where he took upon himself the office of sentinel at the gate for three entire days, during which time he made innumerable offerings. After some days the branch was placed in a superb car and conveyed to Anuradhapura. The procession reached the "superbly decorated capital at the hour that shadows are most extended" and entering by the northern gate and passing through the city it stopped in the Mahamego garden where the precious bough was lifted from the car and deposited. The instant the branch extricated itself from the hand of man "springing 80 cubits up into

the air, self poised and resplendent, it cast forth a halo of rays of six colours." At the setting of the sun it descended to the ground, whereupon the earth quaked. The roots rising up out of the mouth of the vase and shooting downwards, descended forcing down the vase itself into the earth. A heavy deluge of rain fell and dense cold clouds enveloped the tree and hid it from view. For seven days it remained there invisible "occasioning renewed delight in the populace" and at the termination of the seventh day all the clouds dispersed and displayed the tree with its halo of six rays.

Such is the story of the origin of the ancient Bo-tree of Anuradhapura and notwithstanding its impossibility it is not difficult to understand the veneration in which the tree is held by Buddhists up to the present day. From the Singhalese chronicles we learn that the kings from time to time showed their regard for the sacred plant.

King Dutugaimunu (B. C. 161) caused a splendid festival of offerings to the Bo-tree to be celebrated; King Batiyatissa (B. C, 136) celebrated annually without intermission, the solemn festival of watering it: King Waahsaba (A. D. 62) caused statues to be formed and built an edifice to contain them near it; another king (A. D. 179) caused a stone stair to be erected on the four sides of it; another (A. D. 201) caused a hall to be built in its vicinity; another (A. D, 223) caused a pavement of marble to be made around it. The tree is frequently referred to thoughout the Singhalese chronicles and, considering the care which has been bestowed upon it by many generations of zealous Buddhists, there is no reason to doubt that it is upwards of two thousand years of age.

At the present time the tree stands in the middle of a yard about half an acre in extent surrounded by high walls. The trunk of the tree has been built up with a succession of terraces, the work of devout monarchs, and the larger branches are carefully supported; the roots have protruded through the masonry in several places, which must render the terraces insecure unless carefully looked after.

A large number of pilgrims visit the tree and make offerings of flowers &c., and carry away with them any leaves which may have dropped from it. At certain seasons the priests of the neighbouring Temple celebrate festivals at the Bo-tree and on these occasions large numbers of Buddhists attend, but the glory of the ancient city has long since departed and with it has gone all the pomp and

pageantry which delighted the hearts of the good King Dewananpityatissa and his illustrious successors.

W. H. G. Duncan.

LETTERS FROM HYDERABAD, IV.

The burden which weighs down the Hyderabad State is the enormous cost of her military forces. In order to understand why it is that the expenditure under this head is so heavy, it will be necessary to give a slight restrospect of the military history of the State since we entered into alliance with it. When, at the close of the last century, French influence in the Dominion was finally broken, and just before the breaking out of our last struggle with Tippoo, a treaty of offence and defence was formed with Hyderabad. In the wars of the previous thirty years the old undisciplined armies of the State had been found untrustworthy and had been gradually replaced by regiments drilled and officered by Frenchmen. When the French power was broken it became necessary not only to replace these forces by men as well drilled and disciplined, but also to provide a force sufficiently strong to defend the State from the neighbouring Mahrattas and to protect the Government from any internal rebellion or rising of the still powerful chieftains. Accordingly, we agreed to provide an army of "6,000 sepoys with fire-locks, with due proportion of field pieces" at a cost of Rs. 24,17,100 per annum. This force was to be "at all times ready to execute services of importance such as the protection of the person of His Highness, his heirs and successors from race to race, and overawing and chastising all rebels or exciters of disturbance in the Dominions of the State, but it is not to be employed on trifling occasions, nor like Sebundy, to be stationed in the country to collect the revenues thereof" (Art. 5, Treaty of 1798). Another of the provisions of this treaty was that all territory conquered by the combined British and Hyderabad armies was to be equally divided between the two allies. The money required for the payment of this force was to be furnished by the Nizam, but in all other respects the army was exactly on the same footing as a British army. This was the origin of the Subsidary Force, which some persons are in the habit of confounding with the Contingent. It was this Subsidiary Force which co-operated with us in the final capture of Seringapatam, and when the con-

quered territory came to be divided between the allies, the portion which fell to the share of the Nizam consisted of what now forms the greater part of the so-called Ceded Districts; *viz.*, Bellary, Cuddapah, and a portion of the present Kurnool district.

At the time when the partition took place, (A. D. 1800) the pay of the Subsidiary Force had fallen into arrears and in order to avoid the possibility of this again occurring, the Nizam agreed to cede in perpetuity the abovementioned districts, in consideration of which we undertook the responsibility of all future maintenance of the Subsidiary Force, the numbers of which it was provided should be increased by two battalions of sepoys and one regiment of cavalry with a due proportion of guns and artillerymen, or a total of 8,000 firelocks, one thousand horse and the requisite complement of guns. The districts thus permanently ceded were valued in the schedule attached to this treaty at Rs. 18,80,652, and had this valuation been a correct one, the bargain would have been by no means a bad one for the Nizam, since he would have secured the services of a thoroughly disciplined army and of an ally bound to defend him against all enemies, at no cost to his State. As a matter of fact however it was soon found that the revenue derived from the Ceded Districts had been greatly undervalued. This undervaluation was due entirely to the years of anarchy and misrule which had preceded the fall of Mysore, during which the district and village officials had plundered the country and had falsified the accounts. Under the able management of Major (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro, the revenues of these districts rapidly increased, and in a few years time they brought in double the amount at which they had been valued when the cession took place. The treaty of 1800 however provided that neither party should have any claim against the other in the event, either of the revenues falling short of the estimated amount, or of a surplus above that amount being realized. As a matter of fact these districts now bring in a revenue to Government of about 60 lakhs of Rupees, and have done so for the last 50 years. It may be said that the increase is due solely to the better administration of British officers. There may be some truth in this, but when we see that, under native management, a similar increase has taken place in Hyderabad territory, it would scarcely be fair to lay too much stress on this assertion. The improvement is due probably almost entirely to the years of peace that have succeeded upon the anarchy of the last century. Looked upon in this light, although the Subsidiary Force costs the Nizam nothing, it may be

fairly said that in the arrangements made for the payment of that force we have made not only a territorial but a considerable pecuniary profit. From the date of this cession all power of interference with the Subsidiary Force passed away from the Nizam. It was stationed in the cantonments of Secunderabad and Trimulgherry within a few miles of his capital, and he therefore enjoyed the protection afforded by its presence, but beyond this he could do nothing, he could not employ the services of a single soldier, or issue an order to one of the officers. It was very soon discovered that a military force constituted under these conditions was not sufficient for the administration of the country. The greater part of the dominions were divided amongst chiefs and noblemen, some of whom claimed almost absolute independence. The ryots had just lived through a time when in order to provide for its safety, every village had become a fortification. The people had learned by experience that they could hope for no assistance from the Government, against the marauders with which the country was infested, and they therefore had to protect themselves. The country was throughout in a disturbed and lawless state. Revenue was paid only when the collecting authority was powerful enough to enforce payment, and little more than a spark was required to set whole districts in a blaze. Under the provisions of the treaty of 1798 the Subsidiary Force could not be employed on duties of this kind. There was then no Police and it therefore became necessary to organize a force to be employed especially in keeping the domestic peace of the State. At this time there were large numbers of soldiers kept in employ by the important chieftains who held extensive districts on military tenure. The number of these amounted to about 30,000 but although the estates had been granted in the first instance in order to provide a military force to defend the State, these soldiers had come to regard their chiefs as their sole masters, and as the chiefs were continually endeavouring to assert their rights and privileges independently of the State, these armed bodies, which had been intended for the defence of the State, were in reality its greatest source of danger. In organizing the new force that was required it was vain to look for assistance from these men, indeed it was because so little reliance could be placed upon the loyalty of these native levies that the French, and afterwards ourselves, had found it necessary to form a separate army. Here no doubt a great mistake was committed, which afterwards led to the financial embarrassments of the State. As soon as the services of the native levies

were no longer necessary, owing to the constitution of the Subsidiary Force, a thorough reorganization of the tenures under which the military chiefs held their estates should have taken place. These estates were held free of assessment on condition solely that a certain number of armed men should be sent into the field when required. Those armed men being no longer necessary, a *peiscush* or tribute, should have been fixed on each estate. In the course of a few years the chieftains would then have dismissed their overgrown rabble armies, and the men themselves, employed in agriculture, would have helped to develope the resources of the State. This, however, was not the plan which was adopted, and the only other course left was to organize a fresh body of troops. In addition to the troops required to preserve the domestic peace of the State, the Nizam had also bound himself in the same treaty, (Art. 12) in the event of war breaking out between the allies and any other power, to join the Subsidiary Force with six thousand infantry and nine thousand horse of his own troops. There can be no doubt that when this treaty was drawn up it was not contemplated that the Nizam should do anything more than send the native levies, to maintain which, the military jaghirs had been granted. The objections, however, to these troops have already been pointed out, and so to provide for the wants required above, and also to have an army more directly attached to the Nizam's person it was resolved to raise a new force. The nucleus of such a force existed in the shape of a small brigade known as 'Malcolm's Command' which had already taken a part in the capture of Seringapatam, where it fought under the orders of Arthur Wellesley. This brigade was accordingly increased, and was drilled, and for the greater part officered, by Englishmen, whose services the British Government placed for that purpose at the disposal of the Nizam. This small force, which, at that time and for many years afterwards, was known as the "Nizam's Army," took a share in the first Mahratta war of 1803 and after that underwent various changes, until in 1813 it was thoroughly reorganized by the Resident, Mr. Russell, after which time it was for some years known as the "Russell Brigade." In 1814 the force consisted of four European (two non-commissioned) and 121 native officers, and 800 sepoys, and formed therefore only a very small portion of the Contingent which, under the treaty, the Hyderabad state was bound to send into the field, and the remainder was, if required, made up from the native levies. In 1816 the Russell Brigade was increased by the addition of 300 horse. In 1817

the force formed part of Sir John Malcolm's command and took part in the battle of Mahidpur. Very great care had been bestowed on its efficiency, for in the official report of this campaign it is stated that "no brigade in India was more highly disciplined, or more complete in its appointments, camp equipage and bazaars, than the Russell Brigade." In 1820 the Resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe, made still further changes in the force and threw it open to all officers of merit. During the next seven years considerable additions were made to the numbers, and reliefs were instituted between the stations of Elichpore, Hingoli, Aurungabad and Hyderabad. By this time the cost had also greatly increased until it amounted to more than 20 lakhs annually. It will be noticed that throughout this period, although drilled according to the European method, and officered for a great part by Englishmen, the little army was essentially the Nizam's army and represented a portion of the contingent, which in the event of war breaking out he was by treaty bound to send into the field to co-operate with us. For this reason it was often spoken of as "The Contingent" until at last it came to be known exclusively by that name.

In 1828 H. H. Nasir-u-Daula succeeded to the Musnud and very considerable changes were made in the internal administration of the country. During the previous ten years a number of English officers had been employed in civil posts and in the management of the districts, but the new Nizam resolved to dispense with their services. An offer was also made to him by the British Government to relive him of the Contingent on payment of 20 lakhs a year, but this he flatly refused to agree to. "He took pride in the force," says Colonel Meadows Taylor "and the English Government now declared that it should not be disturbed but that its cost should be lessened by sundry reforms." There was no question, it will be seen, of its maintenance being obligatory upon the Nizam, in fact the decision that "it should not be disturbed" implies the contrary. The reforms in the matter of cost resolved upon do not, however, seem to have been carried out, and instead of the expenditure being lessened it was gradually increased. Maharajah Chandoo Lall was then the Prime Minister and had been at the head of affairs since 1806. It was his steady and persistent support of all proposals regarding the improvement of the Contingent that gained him the good will of the British Government. It is to be feared that this was almost the only part of his administration which deserved gratitude. Everything else was sacrificed in order to meet the annually increas-

ing demand for money to pay the Contingent. By 1837 the cost of the Contingent had risen to very nearly 40 lakhs annually and at this time the total revenue derived from the State lands was little more than 60 lakhs. It was to meet this demand for money that recourse was had to the farming out of districts alluded to in my last letter. Money was borrowed at exorbitant rates of interest, and *nuzzeranas* of a large amount were taken from the persons who succeeded in getting leases of districts. Everything was done to raise cash. But in spite of all these efforts cash was not always forthcoming. In order to meet one of the provisions of the articles of war, so as to make the members of the force amenable to a Court-martial it had been found necessary to pay the Contingent from the Resident's treasury, which was then reimbursed for its outlay by the Nizam's minister. By degrees, however, as the cost of the Contingent increased, the instalments became less regular. The debt once commenced, went on increasing until at last after a few years of Nasir-u-Daula's reign, it amounted to about fifty lakhs. In order to clear off this debt the Nizam at last agreed to forego the two lakhs of rupees which the British Government paid him for the cession of his rights in the so-called Northern Circars on the Eastern Coast. These rights had been ceded to us in the last century previous to the treaty of 1798. The debt being wiped off, the State again started clear, but it was only the old story over again. The instalments fell into arrears and the debt went on annually increasing until at last in 1850 it amounted to 74 lakhs of rupees. The cost of the Contingent, which was now entirely under our management had also gone on increasing, and in that year it amounted to 40 lakhs and the force consisted of 84 European Officers and 9,397 natives of all ranks with cantonments in seven different places. During the next three years the relations between the British and the Hyderabad Government can scarcely be said to have been pleasant. On our side there was a continual request for a settlement, and on that of the native State an evasion of payment. Promises were made only to be broken, and on more than one occasion payments were made in bills which were subsequently returned dishonoured. At this time General Fraser was the Resident, and he seems to have been actuated by the sole wish of extricating the State from her embarrassments. With this end in view he advocated our taking up a more decided line as regards the internal management of the State. This, however, Lord Dalhousie would not listen to. He insisted that the State should meet the obligation she had contracted, but refused to

give her any assistance towards doing so. In 1851 a demand was made for a cession of territory in liquidation of the debt, and this demand had the effect of convincing the Nizam that something must be done. Accordingly he strained every nerve and by drawing upon his own private resources, and by pawning the State jewels succeeded in paying off 40 lakhs of rupees. More than this, however, he could not do, and having done so much matters remained *in statu quo*. Again the instalments began to fall into arrears and the balance against the State gradually crept up, until in 1852 it reached very nearly 50 lakhs. Lord Dalhousie determined to wait no longer. General Fraser went away on short leave in 1853 and Colonel Low was sent down to conclude a treaty which should have the effect of finally settling the long standing debt. During all this time that the debt had been growing, no attempt was made on our part to decrease the expenditure of the Contingent on account of which alone the debt had been incurred. Everything connected with that force was managed on a princely scale. Although numbering not more than about 9,500 men of all ranks, there were no less than three Brigadiers ! Lord Dalhousie in his letters to General Fraser often writes sarcastically of "your three Brigadiers" but he never hints that any one of them should be reduced. In fact it would have been difficult to decide who was the person competent to reduce expenditure. We sanctioned appointments and supplied the men to fill them, and then sent the bill to the Nizam. "Nizzy pays" was a proverb in those days, and if he did not pay, we simply wrote the amount down to his debit and produced the bill at the time of settlement. The Contingent, to all intents and purposes, had become an English army. Instead of the "6,000 sepoys with fire-locks" which under the treaty of 1798 the Nizam was bound to pay for at a cost (exorbitant even in those days) of 24 lakhs of rupees annually, he had now ceded territory, which, had he kept it, would have been yielding an income, of from 50 to 60 lakhs, and was in addition being annually debited for a force (originally his own but now ours) at a cost of 40 lakhs of rupees. And in addition to this the Native State was still keeping up—by the military fiefs which it had formerly granted—an undisciplined army which represented very nearly 100 lakhs of revenue ! And when we remember that at this time the actual gross revenue of the whole Dominion was not much more than 60 lakhs of rupees, it is not difficult to understand that the State was on the verge of insolvency. But who brought her there ?

In 1853 the time for a final settlement had at last arrived. Colonel Low's orders were precise; and had the Nizam refused to sign the new treaty he was ready to march the troops at his disposal on Hyderabad, which troops by a strange irony of fate would have been the very men to maintain whom this debt had been contracted. But the Nizam had no intention of resisting. All that he stipulated for was that the cession should not be a permanent one. There can be no doubt that Lord Dalhousie's desire was that the cession should be final and complete, but in Colonel Low's despatch it is clearly stated that the Nizam only consented to sign the treaty on condition that the cession should be a temporary one. It was accordingly agreed that the Berars and the Raichore Doab should be ceded to the British Government for the payment of the Contingent and that any surplus should go to the reduction of the debt. Annual accounts were to be submitted to the Hyderabad Government and the Nizam was still to remain the nominal head of the Ceded territory. The revenue of the districts thus given up was estimated at between 30 and 40 lakhs of rupees, but it was soon found that it had been greatly underestimated. A few weeks after this treaty had been signed, the Prime Minister died and was succeeded by his nephew, a young man of about twenty-four. This was the late Sir Salar Jung. I have shown how he was able enough to see that there was nothing to be gained by "crying over spilt milk" and that the only thing to be done was manfully to face the difficulties and to endeavour to reform the abuses. I have also tried, briefly it is true, to show how he accomplished this task, and space will not allow me to go over the same ground again.

From the foregoing it will be seen that in course of time both the Subsidiary Force and the Contingent had passed from the Nizam's control, and had become to all intents and purposes, British armies. He was therefore left with only the native levies upon which so little reliance could be placed. Salar Jung did a great deal towards reducing the military fiefs, but large numbers still remained. In 1857 the mutiny broke out and the Contingent was sent to the front. The State itself was left almost entirely unprotected and, as the attitude of a number of the chiefs was open to suspicion, Salar Jung found it necessary to organize a fresh body of military to preserve order. This was the origin of the present Reformed troops. This body of men is drilled and commanded by European officers but is entirely under the orders of the Nizam. The present commandant, Major Nevill, has brought them to a very considerable

state of efficiency, and they convey the impression of being a very smart body of men.

From the foregoing it will be understood how enormous is the drain which the military expenditure makes upon the Hyderabad revenues. First of all there is the Subsidiary force in payment of which she ceded districts valued then at Rs. 18,00,000, but which are now worth Rs. 60,00,000. Under the treaty of 1800 this force was fixed at 1,800 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, but the actual strength of the Subsidiary force now stationed in Secunderabad and Trimulgherry falls very much short of that figure. Then comes the Contingent in payment of which the State has temporarily yielded territory which now brings in upwards of 70 lakhs of rupees. The actual cost of the Contingent is now about 30 lakhs, but as the administration of these districts is very costly the surplus that is credited to the Nizam is seldom more than ten lakhs. There can be no doubt that if the Berars were under native management the cost of the administration would be far less. Certainly it is only fair to add that the money has been well spent, and I believe there is no province in India where every department is on so complete and perfect a scale as in the Berars.

Then come the Reformed troops which consisted in 1883 of 5,000 men. In addition to this there are several regiments of Irregular troops many of whom are little more than undisciplined rabble. Some are employed as guards, and many are little more than pensioners. The total number of Irregular troops is given at 2,700 and the cost of these and of the Reformed troops amounts to more than Rs. 60,00,000 annually. This however is not all. There still remain the immense jaghirs or military fiefs of the noblemen. It is very difficult to give the exact value and size of these fiefs, for scarcely any of them have been surveyed. As regards the number of retainers they maintain, it is impossible to give anything like an accurate statement. It has, however, been calculated that the value of these military fiefs is not less than 60 lakhs of rupees annually and that the number of armed men is not under 25,000. It may therefore be said with perfect truth that Hyderabad has to pay more than 170 lakhs of rupees on account of military expenditure or say £1,500,000.

The worst of it is that in spite of this enormous expenditure, there is not a man of all this large force that is available for the defence of India, should there by any chance be a war with any foreign power. It is doubtful whether it would be in conformity with the

treaties of 1798 and 1800 to despatch both the Subsidiary Force and the Contingent to the frontiers of India, but, however that may be, there can be no doubt that under present conditions it would not be considered safe to do so, for a well disciplined force is necessary to keep in check the large body of armed men who at present are under little or no control. What would seem to be required is that there should be a thorough resettlement of the military fiefs. Leaving the Subsidiary Force out of the question it should be settled how large a force the State should be bound to maintain, and she should neither be expected nor allowed to keep anything in excess of that number. The irregular and jaghir troops are now no longer required. They are useless for all practical purposes of warfare and are a source of danger to the State and of embarrassment to the Empire. A new army corps consisting of the Contingent and the Reformed troops should be organized. This force should form a portion of the Imperial army and might be officered by Englishmen and by native noblemen. If the strength were fixed at 15,000 men, 10,000 would probably be available in the event of war, for now that a thorough system of police has been organized 5,000 men would be amply sufficient for all local purposes, always supposing that the irregular and jaghir troops were disbanded. The disbandment of these troops is of course an absolute necessity. If such a course were adopted gradually and with liberality these men who are now a useless burden and expense to the State might be settled on small farms and would be of material aid in bringing under cultivation some of the millions of acres which are now lying waste. Although the force as I have proposed would form part of the Imperial army it should be directly under the Nizam himself. He should stand in the same relation to his local *corps d'armée* as the King of Saxony does towards that portion of the German army which is raised in his dominions. The force would be during times of peace available for all purposes of military display and pomp, and in the event of a war might be sent to the front under the command of one of the Nizam's family aided of course by an English General and officers. In this way the efficiency of the force would be made equal to that of the rest of the Imperial army; the Nizam would have a personal interest and pride in it, and would no longer think that it was necessary for his dignity to maintain a large undisciplined rabble fit neither for work nor for fighting. The payment of this army should, under certain guarantees, be left to the Nizam, and then perhaps the dream of Sir Salar Jung might

at last be realized and the Berars be restored. The guarantee for the payment of the army could easily be arranged. Although administered by the Nizam's government, the revenues of the Berars should be paid into the treasury of a Paymaster of the Forces to be stationed in Hyderabad and appointed by the Supreme Government and the surplus remaining after the troops had been paid could by him be sent to the Nizam's treasury. By an arrangement such as this from 60 to 70 lakhs of rupees annually would be set free for the administration of the country.

J. D. B. Gribble.

LITERARY NOTICES.

The History of Protestant Missions in India from their commencement in 1706 *to* 1881. By the Rev. M. A. Sherring, M.A., LL.B. New Edition, carefully revised and brought down to date, by the Rev. Edward Storrow.

The qualifications required in the historian of Indian Missions are both abundant and varied. Apart from the historic insight which is the first essential of every historical writer, a thorough impartiality and the power of clear grouping and presentation of the complicated details are of the highest importance. The overlapping of the work carried on by the many mission agencies in India renders such a clear presentation by no means easy, and an impartial treatment is often from unavoidable circumstances difficult to secure. It will, however, be generally admitted that the writer of this volume, is on the whole possessed of both qualifications. The impartial treatment laid claim to in the preface, will be granted probably by most readers. No doubt many whose interest is centred in an individual mission, will feel that undue prominence is given in certain instances to missions other than the one with which they are most concerned. Yet, a disinterested reader will, we are persuaded, feel that the balance has been for the most part fairly well maintained; and approximate accuracy is all that can reasonably be expected. A clear presentation of the facts has been secured at the expense of minuteness. The book is distinctly an outline rather than a history, and in several instances we could have desired somewhat fuller treatment.

The method adopted in the original edition by Mr. Sherring, and retained in the present one is geographical. Instead of tracing the history of each mission in succession from its commencement to the present, the authors have followed the history of mission effort in each province and

division of the country. A clearer result is thus obtained, and the relative progress of Christian missions among the different races, and in the different districts, is seen at a glance. Especially serviceable for this are the statistical tables at the close of each chapter, and the four maps drawn from that prepared for the Decennial Conference of 1882.

The first chapter is an introductory one devoted to early mission effort in the eighteenth century. The death of Schwartz—the Apostle of India—in 1798, brings the first period of Protestant Missions in India to an end. The success which attended the small band of missionaries—fifty in all—who had up to this time entered India was remarkable. Not less than 50,000 had embraced Christianity. These large numbers however were undoubtedly to a great extent secured through the granting of a concession which ultimately proved fatal to the stability and growth of the Christian Church. Schwartz and his followers, like the Roman Catholics, permitted caste distinctions. In doing so—

"They sowed the seeds of pride, distrust, and alienation in their native congregations, which brought forth abundant crops of rank and vexatious weeds. Although this terrible evil seems never to have been so potent among the Christians as among unbelieving Hindus, yet it wrought mischief in numberless ways, chiefly in preventing the full display of Christian graces and virtues, by forbidding that social intercourse and union which are the very life of a Christian community."

Partly from this cause, partly from the discontinuance of Missionary effort in 1850, hundreds had taken the place of thousands. As compared with modern missions—

"The difference lies in this, that although the work in modern times is slower in progress, and stricter in principle, yet it is more thorough and trustworthy; more genuine and satisfactory, and more grounded on real conviction, than the work achieved by the distinguished Missionaries of the previous period."

The following eighteen chapters are devoted each to a separate district. Beginning with Calcutta and Bengal, the writer takes up in order the Santals, the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, passing on to Central India, Bombay, and down the West Coast to Travancore, and northward along the East to Madras. The historical sketch there given is probably the best apologetic for Indian Missions. The census of 1881, which is embodied in the statistical tables, was almost a gratifying surprise, and is certainly the most effective reply to those who are sceptical of results. Looked at by themselves, the figures, representing the number of converts to Christianity, show remarkable success, and it is only when they are brought side by side with the numbers not yet influenced, that the work seems almost infinitesimal. But to estimate the success of Protestant Missions merely by these figures—great as they are—would be altogether misleading. The aim of Christianity is so far gained by the inculcation

of high moral principles, the growth of purity and the spread of truth and enlightenment, and that this has been done in multitudes of cases where there has been no adoption of the Christian system is admitted on all hands. Speaking of this influence in Calcutta in words which are equally applicable to all centres, the writer says—

"It may be affirmed that, intellectually, the missionary agency in the metropolis and its vicinity is, to say the least, accomplishing as much, in the general enlightenment of the people, as all other agencies combined, whether in connection with, or separate from the Government. Morally and religiously, in changing for the better the tone of native society, in scattering broadcast among all classes of the community the purest principles of human life and conduct, both as to the relations subsisting between man and man and between man and his Maker, in breaking the bonds of superstition, in destroying idolatry and other erroneous conceptions of the Deity, in exciting the natives to seek after virtue and truth, they have exerted an influence far and wide, which but for them would never have been felt, have already effected moral changes, which but for them would never have been produced . . . . . . and have inspired the breasts of multitudes with the ambition to become more honest, and more like God Himself, which but for them would have remained base and grovelling for ever."

Much of this has unquestionably been produced by Missionary educational institutions, and throughout the volume, there is apparent a desire to give a just estimate of the relative influence of educational and more directly evangelistic work.

In the last chapter we have a concise summary of the agencies and results of Protestant Missions. Among every 210,000 of the population, only one foreign Christian agent is at work, while there is one native Christian preacher to every 83,000. In 1851 there were in India proper 91,000 native Christians; in 1881, the numbers had increased to 417,000.

A perusal of the book for the simple facts it gives, will tend to increase one's sense of England's responsibility towards India, and inspire hope and belief in the ultimate success of her mission.

A Commentary on the New Testament : Translated into Telugu by the Rev. J. S. Padfield, B.D., Missionary. C. M. S., Masulipatam. Vol. I., St. Matthew and St. Mark. Madras, S. P. C. K. Press, 1885.

Mr. Padfield and the Christian Knowledge Society are both to be congratulated on the very excellent way in which they have performed a great service to the Telugu Church. A clear and lucid New Testament Commentary in the Vernacular becomes almost a necessity wherever large numbers unacquainted with English are gathered into the Church. This need has long been felt in the Telugu Churches, and here we have the first instalment of a work intended, and admirably calculated, to sup-

ply that need. Mr. Padfield has chosen to translate the commentary already published in English by the Christian Knowledge Society rather than to elaborate one of his own. In this we think he has done wisely. Not that we believe translated commentaries will always suffice. They are at best but a temporary makeshift. The time will come with the development of Indian Churches when we—or our children—shall see truly native commentaries. And when that time comes, when the Eastern mind gives itself to the elucidation of what is essentially an Eastern book, may we not hope to see deeper truths and sublimer beauties unfolded from the sacred text,—truths and beauties which have eluded all the patient research and piety of the West? But this time is not likely to come for many years yet, and meanwhile the best and most serviceable commentary that the Church can have is one similar to that before us.

Speaking of the text adopted the Translator remarks in his preface—

"At the commencement there was a difficulty as to which text of the Telugu New Testament it was best to follow. The whole Telugu Bible is under revision and is not likely to be completed for a long time, and there are several editions of the New Testament in circulation. On referring the matter to the Secretary of the M. A. Bible Society, he said that, as regards the Gospels, the edition called 'The Delegates' First Revision' was the one most likely to be nearest that finally adopted. That edition was therefore followed for the four Gospels. For the rest of the New Testament the text being followed is that of the Tentative Edition of the Bible brought out in 1882."

The translation is admirably accomplished. The language is simple, pure, and idiomatic. The printing is exquisitely clear and beautiful and the value of the book is increased by a capital map of Palestine in Telugu for which the publishers are indebted to the Bible Society, and to the skill of Mr. Barren. Of the commentary itself it is not necessary that we should speak. It is well known in its English form, and universally approved, not as a critical commentary for the scholar, but as a plain exposition for the man of the world.

The whole work, we are told, is to consist of four volumes, of which the 2nd is already in the press. If the succeeding volumes are equal to the first the whole work will leave nothing to be desired, and will beyond doubt be of immense service to the cause of Christianity.

India for the Indians—and for England. By WILLIAM DIGBY, C.I.E. London: Talbot Brothers. 1885.

It seldom falls to the lot of a reviewer to have to deal with so strange a mixture of fact and fiction, prejudice and passion, hasty judgment and short-sighted advice as is presented in the volume before us. Mr. Digby writes too much to write well, and his thoughts range over too wide an area to be deep or always true. He has endless capacity for work and an enthusiastic love for India, but these do not make a statesman. For the

work he did in Madras during the sad years of famine, 1877-8, he is deserving of all honour. Every one rejoiced in the recognition which his great services obtained. But by the publication of such books as *India for the Indians* he will only ruin his own reputation without benefitting anybody—least of all the "Indians" whom he is so anxious to serve.

The book is intended to be a killing indictment of English rule in India, which Mr. Digby seems to hold has been throughout almost an unmitigated curse to the country. The only blessing we have given India is the "Pax Britannica." In return for this we have crushed every beneficent indigenous institution, and enriched ourselves by reducing the people to penury and starvation. The only parts of India where happiness and contentment are still to be found are the Native States. All other provinces are on the brink of ruin, if indeed they are not already ruined beyond all redemption. Mr. Digby proves all this to his own satisfaction by the most innocently fallacious arguments. As an illustration of this we may refer to pp. 63-4, where he quotes returns published by the India Office which show that the land tax in the Nizam's Dominions is Rs. 3-3-11 per head of the population while in Madras it is only (including water-rate) Rs. 1-0-7. On these figures he makes the following remarks :—

"I distrust these figures. . . . Accepting them however as correct I wonder the India office should publish them, for they condemn most strongly the system of rule for which that office is responsible. At the same time the testimony in favour of Indian rule is remarkable. It is shown that in the Nizam's dominions, more than three times as much can be obtained in the way of taxation from that sheet-anchor of Indian finance, the land, than in Madras. . . . Accepting these official statements as trustworthy, the argument in favour of more Indian and less British, administration becomes irresistable."

But on the next page Mr. Digby takes a different tack. He quotes from Mr. J. B. Peile of Bombay two cases of individual farmers one in the N. W. Provinces who cultivated 52 acres and paid Rs. 87 in revenue, and one in Hyderabad who farmed 50 acres and paid only Rs. 50 in revenue. On these single instances Mr. Digby, grandly superior to ordinary logic, and utterly oblivious of his previous argument, generalizes as follows :—

"To those who hold the views contained in this little book the importance of the foregoing statements cannot be overrated. They more than concede all that is contended for. In Hyderabad as compared with the North West Provinces it would appear that a farm of fifty acres" pays "thirty-seven per cent. less in the shape of land tax."

A score of similar instances might be pointed out but space and patience alike fail us. Mr. Digby sets out with the intention of condemning English administration, and at all hazards to his logic he must accomplish his end. Having got a theory everything must support it. Facts or no facts it shall be proved, for what facts will not

do strong language will. Of this Mr. Digby has no lack, though it is not always in excellent taste, as for example where, on p. 257, he parodies the solemn words which close the canon of Holy Scripture.

Mr. Digby's lament on the hoplessness of his position (pp. 255-7) and his appeal to his "countrymen" to aid him to carry out his suggested reforms (p. 212) would be touching if they were not absurd. His heart, he tells us, sinks within him. And well it may! If all Indian Statesmen, even those from whom most in the way of reform has been hoped, are "content to let things drift;" if, as Mr. Digby freely, and somewhat ostentatiously, allows, the successive generations of Anglo-Indian officials who have made India what she is, have in the main been actuated by the purest desire for the welfare of the country; if those who are most anxious for change before they enter upon official life become less anxious for it as their experience widens;—if these things are so, and Mr. Digby in sadness of heart confesses them all, does it not strike him that they constitute the very strongest argument in favour of that order of things which he so summarily and utterly condemns? This is at any rate the first thing that strikes his reader, and the second is this—that thirty years' honourable official life is *cœteris paribus* a better education in Indian affairs than three years' journalism in Madras.

We do not intend to follow Mr. Digby into the various articles of his indictment, for in the main they are mutually destructive; nor into his suggested reforms, for in our opinion they are far beyond the region of practical politics. Mr. Digby has aimed too high and so has wasted his ammunition. We are not amongst those (if there be any such; Mr. Digby says there are) who hold that our Indian Administration is perfect; nor do we deprecate the full and free discussion of every Indian problem. There are many reforms that are fast becoming matters of imperative necessity. Within the next decade we shall have to devise some means of relieving the overburdened ryot in many parts of India by a reform of the Land Revenue system; we shall have to protect him more effectually than we now do from the extortions of the money-lender; and we shall have in some way or other (probably by a more extensive use of native agency in our services) to reduce the cost of an administration, which, however excellent it may be, is too great a drain upon the resources of the country. But these and many other changes must be wrought slowly and not by the revolutionary means that Mr. Digby advocates. And for our part we would rather be guided in the process by members of those services whose history is one long record of integrity and zeal, than by irresponsible candidates for Parliamentary honours. Meanwhile by all means let public opinion utter itself. In the freest and fullest criticism there is both safety and promise. What we deprecate is the slip-shod, unjust and heated discussion of which Mr. Digby's book is the *ne plus ultra*.

Russian Projects against India, from the Czar Peter to General Skobeleff by H. SUTHERLAND EDWARDS. London: Remington and Co. 1885.

Mr. Edwards informs us in his preface that much of his book has already appeared in the form of articles, published from time to time in newspapers, magazines and reviews during the last eight or nine years. He has written with the object of showing that Russian expeditions in Central Asia have not been undertaken for the sake of a scientific frontier nor for commercial purposes, "but simply in order to place Russia in a position to threaten and, on a fitting opportunity, attack India." The author draws his information almost exclusively from Russian official documents, or from the letters and papers of the military officers under whose charge the various expeditions were made, and in giving the history of these expeditions he is always careful to show what the Russians themselves avowed and purposed.

He begins with accounts of the earlier expeditions to Khiva and Bokhara. Khiva was long an object of Russian cupidity. More than 60 years ago Captain Mouravieff, the chief Russian emissary to Khiva in 1820, wrote as follows, expressing the general feeling that had existed in political circles since the reign of the great Czar.

> "Khiva is at this moment an advanced post which impedes our commerce with Bokhara and Northern India. Under our dependence Khiva would have become a safeguard for this commerce against the attacks of populations dispersed in the steppes of Southern Asia. This oasis, situated in the midst of an ocean of sand, would have become a point of assembly for all the commerce of Asia, and would have shaken to the centre of India the enormous superiority enjoyed by the rulers of the sea."

Mr. Edwards is, however, just enough to observe with reference to this period of Russian enterprise towards the East, that—

> "When the first Russian expedition against Khiva was sent out, no thought could have been entertained by the Russian Government of injuring England, which had possessions in India, but was far, indeed, from exercising exclusive sway in that country. Peter the Great's sole object in connection with the East was to obtain for Russia a share of the riches for which that part of the world was famous. He wished to reach the country over which the English now rule. But Khiva and Bokhara were in his eyes nothing more than convenient stages towards the Oxus; and from the Oxus his emissaries were to make their way, not to any English possession, but to Delhi, at that time the capital of the great Mogul."

Czar Peter first turned his attention seriously to the East after his defeat of Charles XII in 1713. A Turkoman chief, Hodja Nefes, had come to him with the tale that in the country bordering the river Amu (Oxus) gold sand was to be found, "and that the stream which formerly flowed into the Caspian, and which, through fear of the Russians, had

been diverted by the Khivans into the Aral Lake, might, by destroying the dam, be made to run again in its original channel." Peter does not seem to have been much attracted by the story of the golden sands, but he was certainly struck with the idea of bringing Khiva into direct water-communication with the Caspian by turning the Oxus into its ancient channel. An expedition was therefore organised under Prince Bekovitch. Among other things enquiry was to be made as to a water-way to India, which was to be mapped and described in writing. The force under Bekovitch consisted of 6,000 troops, 200 sailors, a flotilla of boats, 22 pieces of artillery, with a year's provisions. The march is thus described by the official historian, quoted by Mr. Edwards:—

"The column traversed in 65 days, or in about two months, 900 miles of a barren and arid steppe; and that too at the hottest time of the year. Throughout almost the whole length of the march the water obtained was of bad quality; at every halt wells were dug to a depth of from two to four fathoms. From this alone the sufferings of the troops (in a heat which sometimes exceeded 40° Réaumur) may well be imagined."

The expedition, however, sustained more serious loss from Khivan treachery and cruelty than from the hardships of the march. The Khivans at first opposed, though with little effect, the Russian advance. Afterwards the Khan changed his attitude and with little difficulty prevailed on Bekovitch to sign a treaty which his ministers had prepared. The Russian Prince and his officers, with a single exception, became the guests of the Khan and marched off to Khiva. The Russian army was broken up into five detachments and quartered in towns adjoining the capital, and Prince Bekovitch dismissed his own private escort. This was all that the Khan desired, and no sooner was it done than the Prince and his brother officers were brutally murdered, and the comparatively small parties of Russian troops fell an easy prey to the blood-thirsty Khivans who massacred them without pity. This disaster produced a great impression in Russia, where 'to perish like Bekovitch' became a proverbial phrase for utter annihilation, and for fourteen years Russia let Khiva alone.

In 1731 the Czar sent Colonel Herzenberg to re-open negotiations with the Khan. He was not allowed to enter the capital and was even plundered on his homeward journey. In 1793, in the reign of the Empress Catherine, the Khan, whose uncle was suffering from ophthalmia, sent to Russia for a physician to cure him. Her Majesty despatched a shrewd doctor named Blankenagel. He was unable to cure the royal sufferer and was innocent enough to say so. He was therefore detained, a council being called to determine how he was to be dealt with. The majority voted that he should be allowed to start, and be put to death on the road. The oculist, however, succeeded in escaping the fate they had prepared for him on the way and reached home safely. He wrote an account of

his visit, which is chiefly interesting because of its reviving the project, which had attracted the mind of Czar Peter, and which occupied the Russians from his time till that of Alexander II., *viz.*, the project of uniting the Aral Lake with the Caspian Sea by turning the Oxus into its supposed ancient bed. It was only in comparatively recent years that the Russians discovered the impossibility of this, and the absurdity of their long cherished belief about the course of the river.

The successors of Peter imitated him in sending commercial missions to India as well as to Central Asia. "But the first Russian Sovereign," writes Mr. Edwards, "who conceived the idea of sending troops to India for the express purpose of injuring England and of destroying her dominion in Hindoostan was the Emperor Paul, who, though slightly crazy, possessed a considerable amount of political insight." He meant to do so with the help of Napoleon, who was disposed to join in the expedition thinking it "far from impracticable." The Czar appears to have anticipated later Russian strategists in his plan of reaching India through Afghanistan by Persia, or along the Persian frontier *viâ* Herat and Candahar. The united French and Russian force was to number 70,000 men, and in an elaborate note addressed to the French Emperor, which Mr. Edwards quotes, he gives a minute account of the difficulties of the march, and how he proposed to overcome them. The alliance was never made. The Czar did not, however, give up his scheme. He sent General Orloff in the year 1801 with an army and full plans of the expedition which was to adopt the Khiva-Bokhara route instead of that through Herat and Candahar. This army had made a little less than a month's progress into Asia when Paul died and orders were issued by his successor, Alexander I, commanding the return of the troops. But strange to say, Alexander himself, at the instigation of Napoleon, took up the original project of his predecessor, a Franco-Russian expedition, which was only abandoned when the two monarchs fell out, and Napoleon embarked on an expedition "not with Russia against India, but supported by troops from all parts of continental Europe, against Russia."

These early expeditions are perhaps of less immediate interest to the majority of readers than the campaigns and intrigues of more recent years. Mr. Edwards does not, however, omit this later part of the history. His account of Ignatieff's mission to Khiva, and his chapter on "Recent projects for the invasion of India" from that of general Khruleff (1855) to that of General Skobeleff (1877) are equally graphic and interesting.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS.

In the Order of Government upon the Report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1883-84, recently presented to Government but not yet issued to the public, we have the following summary of educational progress during the year.

The number of schools and other educational institutions connected with the department on the 31st March 1884 was 16,139 compared with 17,494 in the previous year. Under the forms now in use, however, each institution is treated as a single school, without reference to the number of departments it may contain; this has not been the case hitherto, the separate departments of the same institution having been treated as separate schools. Treating the returns of 1882-83 in a manner similar to that in which the returns for the year under report are treated, the number of schools open on the 31st March 1884 shows a diminution of 451, compared with those open on the 31st March 1883. The number of Art Colleges increased by 1, the number of High schools by 19, the number of English-teaching Middle schools by 3, but the number of Primary schools for boys decreased by 460. Girls' schools show a satisfactory increase, for, though the primary schools for girls were 18 less in 1883-84 than in 1882-83, the upper and lower secondary schools showed an increase of 26 schools in all. The numbers of normal schools increased by 10, and professional and technical schools by 3. The total number of scholars in all schools rose from 446,324 to 447,786. The Director notices the operation of the revised grant-in-aid rules, under which a higher standard is required as a condition for aid than was previously the case. With reference to this it is observed that one great object in view in future should be the provision of trained teachers for primary and secondary schools. It is no doubt too often the case now that funds are wasted upon small schools under untrained indigenous schoolmasters, the result of whose labor must be almost unappreciable.

Four districts—Ganjam, Godávari, Salem and Tinnevelly—show a large fall both in the number of schools and pupils. It is noted that the ranges of the deputy inspectors in Ganjam and Tinnevelly are very heavy; but funds have been provided for additional appointments in those districts. There is ground for hope therefore that the results of the current year will be more favorable. The marked increase both in the number of schools and scholars in South Canara is very satisfactory, and is, no doubt, due chiefly to the intelligent interest taken in education by the local board, and also to the improvement in the inspecting agency, the district having been formed into a separate division, supervised by the educational officer in charge of Coorg.

The proportion of population to pupils ranged from 15 to 1 in Madras, to 124 to 1 in Vizagapatam, seven districts showed better results in this respect than in the previous year, five retained their position, while ten districts lost slightly. The general result shows that the proportion of male population to one male pupil was 38, and that of female population to one female pupil was 328.

With reference to female education the number of girls at school is still only 2 per cent. of the girls at school-going age, but the year shows a great advance compared with the previous year, the numbers having risen from 43,671 to 47,550 or 9 per cent. It may be noted that in the year 1870-71 the number of girls under instruction was only 10,185.

The advance in the standard of female education is shown by the improvement that has taken place in the attendance in female high schools, and in the results attained at public examinations. Ninety-four pupils were reading in the high departments of the high schools at the close of the year compared with 76 in 1882-83. The report of the Inspectress of Girls' Schools is encouraging; the teaching appears to be generally improving in almost all subjects. The number of middle schools for girls rose from 88 in 1882-83 to 114 in the year under report, and the attendance in the middle department of such schools from 623 to 873.

The Government primary schools numbered 15 compared with 19 at the close of 1882-83. The attendance, however, rose from 623 in March 1883 to 866 in March 1884. The number of Municipal and Local Fund girls' schools rose from 37 to 46, and the pupils from 1,610 to 1,758. The main increase in the number of girls under instruction has been of girls in boys' schools. The remarks of Mr. Monro upon this subject, so far as he expresses himself as unable to hope for any great progress in female education in the absence of a sufficient number of girls' schools, are more desponding than is justified by the results up to date. The objections to mixed schools are no doubt considerable, but the fact that so large a proportion of girls now undergoing instruction frequent mixed schools, viz., 19,492 girls out of a total of 47,550, shows that there is not such an aversion to this class of school among the native population as Mr. Monro seems to think. The Government agree with the Director in thinking that whenever the progress of education renders it practicable, separate schools for girls should be established.

Omitting the statistics regarding European and Eurasian female education, the returns show that of Native Christians 10,892 or 21·3 per cent. of the school-age population, of Muhammadans 1,939 or 1·3 per cent., of Brahmans 6·207 or 7·4 per cent., of Sudras 23·118 or 1·7 per cent., of other Hindus 2,215 or 0·3 per cent. are under instruction. It is satisfactory to note that female education among the Muhammadan shows marked progression; five years ago only 381 Muhammadans girls were shown as under education compared with 1,963, the number returned for the year under review.

The following remarks may be made upon the educational condition of each section of the population. As regards Europeans and Eurasians there was a slight advance in the number of pupils under instruction. It may be noted that the Government have recently approved of certain changes in the Grant-in-Aid Code, in view to afford substantial aid to schools for European and Eurasian children. The percentage of Native Christians under instruction to the population of school-going age fell from 58 to 52 under boys, but increased from 19 to 21 under girls. In the examination for the B.A. degree and in the First in Arts examination the proportion of Native Christians to the total number of passes has fallen, but in the Matriculation examination they head the list in the order of merit.

The Government observe the satisfactory educational progress among Muhammadans, the numbers now under instruction being 31,419 compared with 16,516, the figure of five years ago. Though the results of the University examinations were not favorable, the Muhammadans took the second place in the order of merit in the Matriculation examination. The Director reports that seven new schools were at work in Madras at the close of the year under report, under trained pupils of the Muhammadan Normal school, he also quotes from a report of Mr. Monro showing that the number of Mapilla schools in Malabar increased by 35 per cent. and the pupils by 52 per cent., while the number of Mapilla girls under instruction—1,014—nearly doubled during the year.

The returns furnished show for the first time the statistics relating to the education of Brahmans separately, the result being that 75 per cent. of boys and 7·4 per cent. of Brahman girls were at school at the close of the year. The returns in regard to the other classes of Hindus show comparative backwardness. With reference to Vaisyars and Sudras no doubt this is to be explained by the large proportion of them who are engaged in agriculture. It is observed that the Director has under his consideration special measures for extending education among Paraiyas. Progress in this direction must necessarily be slow.

The distinction of pupils according to the occupation of their parents shows that educational advantages are much neglected by the artisan classes, not one artisan boy in twelve receiving instruction. Mr. Garthwaite thinks the absence of this class from school is mainly due to the faulty system of teaching English and accounts followed in so many schools. His remarks quoted in a later portion of the report with regard to secondary education are in the same direction, and the Government are inclined to agree with him in thinking that one great object in the future should be the better organization of instruction. The Director and his staff seem fully to appreciate this.

The following table showing the numbers of pupils in all schools studying the various vernaculars, compared with the number of persons whose mother-tongue is one of these languages, is interesting:—

	Persons in thousands.	Pupils in thousands.	Per-centage.
Tamil	120,91	216	1·8
Telugu	11,745	141	1·2
Malayalam	2,366	41	1·7
Canarese	1,296	11	·7
Hindustani	694	5	·7
Urya	1,020	14	1·3

It must be remembered that not one-sixth of the Muhammadan pupils in our schools read Hindustani.

The following table gives the number of schools and scholars in Municipalities and Local Fund Circles in the two years 1882-83 and 1883-84:—

	1882-83.		1883-84.	
	Schools.	Pupils.	Schools.	Pupils.
Municipalities	1,812	102,166	1,785	105,801
Local Funds	14,778	344,158	14,351	341,985

School Fees.—There was an increase in the income derived from school fees of over 10 per cent. over the income of the previous year. This increase extended to all classes of institutions.

The following table compares the attendance and school fees of ten years ago with those of the year under report, it shows at a glance the stride which education has made in the past decade :—

—	Government schools: Attendance.	Fees.	Local Fund and Municipal schools.		Public schools under private management and private schools.	
			Attendance.	Fees.	Attendance.	Fees.
		RS.		RS.		RS.
1874-75 ...	10,675	1,13,378	19,292	22,072	225,770	5,37,150
1883-84 ...	10,297	1,77,040	48,225	86,826	389,264	8,93,763

The Director reports that he has reason to believe that the fee revenue of the current year will approximate to 13 lakhs. The recent enhancement of fees, which was sanctioned from 1st January 1884, will result, it may be hoped, on the one hand in an increase of educational facilities, and on the other in rise in the pay and so in the social position of teachers. With regard to the latter consequence, the Government agree with Mr. Monro in thinking that the general raising of the status of the teacher will do almost as much as improved normal training to improve the quality of the teaching.

The results of the University Examinations were on the whole satisfactory. The number of graduates who obtain the degree of Master of Arts is still lamentably small; it is much to be regretted that so few of those who take their Bachelor's degree in Arts appear to pursue their studies further, and that such a large proportion of the candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts failed in English. On the other hand, the increasing number of candidates who take up physical science, forms a satisfactory feature in the report. The number of candidates in this subject has risen from 18 in 1879-80 to 110 in the year under report. The percentage of passes for the degree of Bachelor of Arts fell from 54·3 to 47·6. The number of candidates for the First in Arts Examination increased from 783 in 1882-83 to 1,110 in the year under report. Figures are adduced to show that a larger proportion of the First in Arts candidates continued their studies in the B.A. course than was the case in the previous year, which is satisfactory.

The report of the working of the different first-grade colleges shows that the Presidency College, Madras, maintained its reputation. It is noteworthy that only one-fourth of the pupils were Natives of the Madras and Chingleput districts, the remaining pupils coming to the college from the country. The preference exhibited for the metropolitan colleges generally is satisfactory, as it is in these that the best general culture and the highest education can be imparted. The system of charging and collecting fees by the term which was introduced at the beginning of the year has worked with success.

The strength of Kumbakónam College fell in consequence of the greater resort of the pupils to the Presidency town. The results of the year gauged

by success in the public examinations were more satisfactory than those of the previous year. In the Rajahmundry College there was also a falling off in attendance. This college was not successful in the Matriculation Examination, but the success of the candidates in the B.A. Examination was very satisfactory. It is to be hoped that before long an effective scheme for agricultural education in this college will be introduced. The attention of the Director of Public Instruction should be given at an early date to this subject. The Madras Christian College worked with admirable results during the year. It is noted that the income from fees meets about 36 per cent. of the expenditure in the College department and as much as 76 per cent. of the expenditure in the School department. The number of pupils increased from 1,333 to 1,405, and the Director reports that the tutorial staff has been considerably strengthened by the establishment of four additional tutorships.

With regard to secondary education, there was an increase of about 14 per cent. in the number of candidates for the Matriculation Examination, while the number of passes rose by 6 per cent. only. The departmental schools did not do so well as in the previous year. There was, however, an improvement in the numbers of those who passed in English, which is satisfactory. There was an increase of 16 upper secondary [High] schools during the year. The strength, however, of upper secondary classes in these schools actually fell slightly, for various reasons noted by the Director.

The number of English Middle schools fell from 505 to 494 and Vernacular schools from 136 to 99, but the attendance in these schools has in the English risen from 10,844 to 10,900 and in Vernacular fallen from 619 to 426. The number of Government schools has fallen, owing to the transfer of a number of schools to the charge of Municipal Councils. The Board schools rose from 85 to 136.

The primary departments of colleges and of secondary schools for boys and girls as well as the primary schools proper were reckoned as primary schools in previous returns. In the returns now submitted, primary schools proper alone are counted primary schools. This change in the mode of return explains the apparent slight decrease in the number of primary schools and pupils attending them. The number of Local Fund primary schools has fallen from 1,042 to 973, and the attendance from 37,770 to 30,825. This reduction seems to have been due in a great measure to a more careful examination into the educational needs of the different districts, schools being withdrawn in places where good results-schools already existed. The attendance in Municipal schools rose from 4,453 to 4,662. The total number of aided and unaided elementary result schools was 8,279 and 4,837 compared with 9,830 and 5,993 in the previous year. It must be remembered that the primary departments of secondary schools are not now counted as separate institutions.

The popularity of night schools seems to be largely increasing in some districts. In Malabar there are as many as 55 of these institutions, with 1,750 pupils. The students are reported to be most regular in their attendance.

There was, during the year, an increase of three Medical schools and six Normal schools for masters, and four Normal schools for mistresses. The three Provincial Medical schools at Nellore, Tanjore and Dindigul were brought under the department. The results of the Dindigul Medical schools

appear to have been very satisfactory, nine students having obtained hospital assistant certificates.

The Normal schools are doing good work. Every effort should be made to get the schoolmasters of indigenous schools under training in the place of youths having no connection with any indigenous school. The conservative feeling of parents leads them to prefer the old school to the new, and the result is too often that the trained new comer, finding teaching unprofitable, seeks other employment and the trouble and money spent on his training is thus wasted. Good normal instruction to indigenous pial schoolmasters is a crying want in all districts.

The total expenditure upon education during the year was Rs. 39,54,205 compared with Rs. 37,50,799 in 1882-83. Rs. 10,75,823 were provided from Provincial funds, Rs, 6,31,076 from Local funds, and Rs. 1,24,042 from Municipal funds; Rs. 21,23,264 were provided from fees and other sources of revenue. The amount of fees rose from Rs. 6,28,403 to Rs. 12,34,529.

The publication of the completed revision of the Old Testament will be to future generations the most outstanding fact in the literary history of 1885. It is now fourteen years since the work of revision was commenced, and it has engaged the ripest Hebrew scholarship both of England and America, so that viewed merely as a literary undertaking it is a great one. The ordinary version represents the Hebrew scholarship of the seventeenth century, when the study of Hebrew was only in its infancy. Now not only the knowledge of Hebrew but of all the Semitic languages has become exact and full, so that a more correct translation can be produced than was possible two centuries ago. Similarly, the knowledge of the geography, natural history and botany of the countries referred to in the Old Testament, has been perfected. During the past two centuries considerable changes have taken place in our English speech. Many words have become obsolete, and the meanings of others have changed; hence ordinary readers often fail to catch the exact meaning of many passages in the old version. All these considerations furnish sufficient reason for a new revision.

In the revision now made the original text has not been examined and reconstructed as was done in the case of the New Testament, and on this account the new version will be but partially satisfactory. 'The Received, or, as it is commonly called, the Massoretic Text of the Old Testament Scriptures has come down to us in manuscripts which are of no very great antiquity, and which all belong to the same family or recension . . . . But as the state of knowledge on the subject is not at present such as to justify any attempt at an entire reconstruction of the text on the authority of the versions, the Revisers have thought it most prudent to adopt the Massoretic Text as the basis of their work, and to depart from it, as the authorised translators had done, only in exceptional cases.' The changes which must be made eventually in the origi-

nal text are numerous and important, and will doubtless cause considerable agitation when they are finally dealt with, so that the resolution to wait for the further accumulation of materials will be everywhere regarded as wise. The new version will do little to prepare the general public for those changes, but this cannot be obviated.

Yet though the text has not been amended, it must not be thought that the changes made by the revisers are only trivial, and the results of their work unimportant. A careful comparison of the old and new versions will show that a great improvement has been effected, in all the books of the Old Testament. But it must be borne in mind when such a comparison is made that the revision is not a new translation. There are some who would discard every antiquated form of speech and who wish to see the Bible in a perfectly modern dress. The Revisers, however, have decided that the Bible should not speak to us in the modern language of the drawing room, it must still continue to be a treasury of venerable speech. Hence their apparent conservatism in retaining many words which are not strictly popular and modern.

If we mention briefly some of the more striking changes in the new version, special reference must be made to the marked improvement effected by printing the poetic portions in parallelisms after the manner of Hebrew poetry. The Book of Psalms has acquired a new beauty by this arrangement, and by it the reader will often find new light cast upon the meaning of stanzas which formerly seemed obscure. See for example such Psalms as 77, 93, and 104. Popular interest gathers not around the history nor the prophecy of the Old Testament so much as around the Psalter. It is there that men find a kinship between Judaism and Christianity—a kinship both in theology and life; and probably no part of the new version will be more closely scrutinized than the Psalms. They are now divided into five books, as in the Hebrew and Septuagint versions, and the adoption of this ancient division tends to force upon the reader the thought of their various authorship. They appear now as 'The Psalms;' as so many collections of songs by devout Hebrew poets whereas in the old version they were, 'The Book of Psalms,' vaguely supposed to have been written by David. Now, however, the reader will be almost compelled to recognise the genius and piety of other singers, *e.g.*, the beautiful songs in the Second Book, by that family of poets, Korah's sons. Many of the headings are now made more intelligible, *e.g.*, that of Ps. 53 now translated 'for the Chief Musician; set to Mahalath' instead of 'to the Chief Musician upon Mahalath.' In the other books of the Old Testament it is pleasant to find continuity of narrative no longer disturbed. The dominion of verses is now ended, and passages which for two centuries have been broken into fragments are permitted to regain their unity, the numbers of the verses being placed in the margin. By improved translation additional clearness

has been given to many important passages, *e.g.*, the account of the creation, in *Genesis* 1, and the Song of Moses in *Exodus* 15. Slight changes have been made in the second and fourth commandments. The spelling of proper names has been corrected. The Christology of the old Testament may at first sight seem to have suffered by the revision, for in those passages which have been held by many to refer prophetically to Christ, the capital letters are no longer found. But the reason is obvious; it was not the business of the Revisers to interpret, but to give a faithful translation. Though the weight of the united sanction of a body of Revisers may no longer be quoted in support of references to Christ in the Old Testament, men will still be free to find such references. At the same time it should be said that several passages which have been often quoted as referring to Christ, have been so changed by the Revisers, that for polemical purposes they must henceforth remain unused. In ordinary copies of the Scripture, summaries of contents are placed over each chapter, but in the new version these do not appear. It was no part of the Revisers' duty to place them there, hence readers are left to commence the work of interpretation unclogged by any such bias as summaries might give. In some passages (*e.g.*, in *The Song of Songs*) this is an immense improvement. Readers of the new version will often feel grateful for greater clearness and intelligibility resulting from more exact translation. In illustration of this we might fill many pages, but our aim is to furnish only a brief outline of some of the general features of the revision. Yet we quote one passage, *Isaiah* 65, 11—as a striking instance of improvement.

Authorized Version.	*Revised Version.*
But ye are they that forsake the LORD, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for that troop, and that furnish the drink offering unto that number, &c.	But ye that forsake the LORD, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for Fortune and that fill up mingled wine unto destiny, &c.

We think that some complaint may reasonably be made on one or two points. First, some Hebrew words are not uniformly rendered by the same English equivalents and, secondly, obsolete English words which are changed in some places are elsewhere allowed to remain. With regard to the first of these points, the American Revisers appear to have been more consistent than their brethren, and in the matter of modernizing the language they are, as might have been expected, less conservative. No one can charge the authors of the revision with temerity in the rejection of antiquated words, probably the majority of readers will rather think that they have been too timid. We certainly think that this will be the verdict of the younger men of our time. Be this as it may, we heartily commend the new version to the study of all devout men. Readers will find forms and familiar expressions changed, yet the spiritual truth

remains intact and unchanging. It is the same old Bible—only it is made more readable and the truth which it contains easier of apprehension.

SCIENCE JOTTINGS.

During the total solar eclipse of May 6th 1884 observed in the Caroline Islands, a number of Meteorological observations were made by the members of the United States expedition. The temperature of the air fell from 84°·5, at which it stood just before the eclipse began, to 81°·4 which was 0°·1 lower than it had been at 7 A.M. The most interesting effect however was that produced on the diurnal barometric curve. At the Caroline Islands, as in India, the barometer shows the diurnal change of pressure to be a most regular phenomenon, and for 10 days before the eclipse accurate observations of the hourly readings had been made. These observations enabled the barometric curve to be drawn with considerable accuracy and when the readings for the day of the eclipse were compared with this, it was found that from 10-30 to 11-25 A.M., the barometer fell with greater rapidity than the normal (the total phase was from 11-32 to 11-37 A.M.) and at 11·20 it was 0·016 inches lower than the normal. Immediately afterwards an abnormal rise set in, the usual fall being replaced by an actual rise, and at 12-10 P.M., the reading was 0·019 inch above the normal for that hour. These observations throw a valuable light on the cause of the daily barometric tide.

The large amount of attention that is now paid to the study of microscopic organisms is always leading to unpleasant discoveries. Not long ago it was pointed out that coins of all sorts were often covered with bacteria (using the term in its most general sense) and now a writer in *Science et Nature* calls attention to the " Flora of Bank Notes" and gives a drawing of a large number of microscopic organisms which he has detected. If the theory now so generally held regarding the propagation of diseases by means of bacteria be accepted, it cannot be denied that a real danger lies in the transmission of coin and notes from infected districts. At the same time it is difficult to see how this source of danger can be guarded against except by a frequent renewal of the notes. In this connection it is of interest to notice that the Bank of Scotland has recently issued a new note prepared by Dr. Crum Brown which has been designed with the object of being at the same time cheaply prepared and difficult to forge. Hitherto Scotch Bank Notes have been proverbial for their dirtiness, but now steps are being taken to renew them with much greater frequency.

Professor Langley recently delivered a very interesting lecture at the Royal Institution on "Sunlight and the Earth's Atmosphere" in which he gave a summary of the results of a number of very elaborate observations which he has made during the last two or three years. These observations were made by the help of an instrument of his own design called the "bolometer" or "ray-measurer" which he uses for measuring the amount of heat in the various parts of a spectrum. The bolometer consists of a wire or tape of platinum from 1-2000 to 1-20,000th of an inch thick, through which an electric current flows. When this wire is heated its resistance increases and by this increase of resistance the temperature can be measured with wonderful delicacy. Using this apparatus he made an elaborate series of measurements of the heat in all parts of the visible and invisible spectrum at the foot and at the top of Mount Whitney on the Sierra Nevadas. This mountain reaches a height of about 15,000 feet and being situated in a very dry region was admirably suited for Professor Langley's purpose. The difficulty of transporting the necessary apparatus to such a position was very great, but was successfully overcome, and the results obtained fully justified the trouble taken to obtain them. The result of the observations, broadly stated, is that the sun, if seen without the atmosphere, would appear blue instead of white. This means a great deal more than would at first sight appear as will be seen by the following which are some of the consequences as stated by Professor Langley :—

"We deduce in connection with it a new value of the solar heat, so far altering the old estimates that we now find it capable of melting a shell of ice sixty yards thick annually over the whole earth, or, what may seem more intelligible on its practical bearings, of exerting over one horse power for each square yard of the normally exposed surface . . . . . We have found it probable that the human race owes its existence and preservation even more to the heat restoring action of the atmosphere than has been believed . . . . . That the importance of the blanketing action of our atmospheric constituents has been in no way overstated, may be inferred when I add that we have found by our experiments that if the planet were allowed to radiate freely into space without any protecting veil, its sunlit surface would probably fall, even in the tropics, below the temperature of freezing mercury."

A writer in *Nature* calls attention to the following passage in *Plutarch's Lives* about the petroleum of Media :—

"... And in the district of Ecbatana he (Alexander) was particularly struck with a gulf of fire, which streamed continually as from an inexhaustible source. He admired also a flood of naptha, not far from the gulf, which flowed in such abundance that it formed a lake. The naptha in many respects resembles the bitumen but it is much more inflammable. Before any fire touches it, it catches light from a flame at some distance, and often kindles all the intermediate air. The barbarians to show the King its force and the

subtlety of its nature, scattered some drops of it in the street which led to his lodgings; and, standing at one end they applied their torches to some of the first drops, for it was night. The flame communicated itself swifter than thought, and the street was instantaneously all on fire."*

Joule, as is well known, discovered that when an iron rod is magnetized it increases in length, the amount of elongation increasing up to a certain maximum value with increase of the magnetizing force. Mr. Shelford Bidwell has recently communicated to the Royal Society the results of a number of experiments on this subject and has shown that if a magnetizing force be employed greater than that which produces the maximum elongation, the elongation diminishes, and with a sufficiently powerful magnetizing force the length of the bar is unchanged. If the magnetizing force be still further increased the bar actually contracts. The greatest contraction observed was about half that of the greatest elongation, but there was no sign that a limit had been reached. In steel the phenomena are similar, but are complicated by the effects of tempering. In Nickel the application of a magnetizing force produces contraction. The greatest observed contraction in nickel is more than three times the maximum observed elongation in iron and there were no signs of an approaching limit.

A new outburst of lava from Mount Vesuvius occurred on May 2nd, This eruption has apparently no connection with any recent earthquakes, but is according to Johnston-Lavis simply the final giving way of part of the cone before a dyke that has been working its way outwards for years. The lava welling up from the fissure flowed down the mountain in two streams one of which was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres broad and 1 metre deep while the other was $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres broad and 2 metres deep, both flowing at the rate of about 1 metre per second. This represents an outflow of about 9,360 cubic metres in 24 hours.

The death is announced of the Rev. Thomas W. Webb, Vicar of Hardwick. He is probably best known through his very useful little book. "Celestial objects for common telescopes" a work which should be in the hands of all who work with telescopes of even very moderate power. He was a contributor to many periodicals and did some useful astronomical work. One of his most recent contributions to astronomy was a semigraphical method of calculating eclipses and occultations by which results sufficiently accurate for most purposes could be obtained with very little labour.

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* Life of Alexander; translated by John and William Langhorne.

The large dome presented by M. Bischoffsheim to the Nice Observatory is mounted according to a new method. Instead of resting on a series of rollers according to the usual plan, it rests on water in a circular basin. This method of suspension is said to be so perfect that though the dome is more than 70 feet in diameter one person can turn it completely round the horizon.

The Cantor lectures of the Society of arts have often been the means of enlightening the public mind on the recondite methods used in our manufacturing enterprise. Whether the subject is lighting by gas or electricity, the uses of the base metals or gold, the knowledge of brewing or cooking, we feel that they are always dealt with by masters of their art. Dr. Alder Wright has lately made us acquainted with some interesting points connected with the manufacture of toilet soaps. The process of saponification consists in uniting together a fatty oil such as that obtained from the Palm tree with alkaline residues from chemical works. The thick solution is then "salted out" by adding common salt which dissolves very readily in the water taking it away from the soap which is thrown to the surface in the form of a "cake." The cake is then subjected to "milling" in which it is passed through a set of rollers revolving at different speeds whereby it is converted into ribbons, in this condition it is placed in an apparatus where a screw revolving in a cone compresses the soap and forces it through a square, round or oval aperture as required. The bar is then cut into cakes and each cake placed between two dies one blow of which transforms it into the shape in which it is sent into the market. In all these operations some lubricating material as petroleum or glycerine and water is used to prevent sticking. The soap is finally polished which is usually effected by friction with a cloth saturated with alcohol or by a short exposure to steam. In making a quantity of soap there is always a great amount of waste, the scraps often amounting to 28 to 33 per cent, but these by a special contrivance are subjected to pressure in order to consolidate them.

In the last part of the lecture Dr. Wright explains the methods employed in the analysis of soaps. The principal constituents sought for and estimated are the alkalies either combined or in a free state, the neutral salts, glycerine or its substitutes, alcohol, the fatty acids and water. From several analyses the amount of actual soap varied from 45 to 90 per cent. whilst the amount of free alkali varied from nothing to 25 per cent.

C. M. S.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

The *Fortnightly Review* for June opens with an excellent article by Sir Julian Goldsmid in vindication of the deposed Khedive, Ismail. It has been called forth by the recent article of Prince Halim which was full of the bitterest attacks on Ismail's character and administration. Prince Halim is the last surviving son of Mehemet Ali. Since 1865, when on account of financial difficulties in which he was involved he sold his estates to the Egyptian Government for a million sterling, he has lived a retired life at Constantinople. A few months ago he inherited a large sum of money from a sister, and about the same time Fehmi Pasha proposed that the Sultan should depose Tewfik and put Halim in his place. Such a proposal the English Government declined even to discuss, but it has served to bring Halim prominently to the front. He himself openly aspires to the Viceroyalty of Egypt, and his recent article, sketching a policy which would restore to the Porte all its old power, and arguing that Egypt can never be successfully governed without the sanction and co-operation of the Khalif, was doubtless intended as a manifesto. Sir Julian Goldsmid naturally asks what claims has Halim to put forward?—

"What is his history? What qualifications has he shown for the high post to which he aspires? He is one of the sons of Mehemet Ali, who was admittedly a man of great energy and remarkable military capacity, and who commenced the attempt to render Egypt independent of the Sultan. But Prince Halim inherited none of the ability of his father. He was only twice employed in a public capacity, and that for a very short time. In 1856 he was sent by his brother Said Pasha to the Soudan with the grand title of Governor-General, although at that time a great part of the Soudan was not under Egyptian sway." Here "he did nothing to show that he possessed capacity for Government. In 1863 Ismail became Viceroy and for a brief period Halim was President of his Council: but it was impossible, if report speaks true, for the new ruler to retain him long in that position, owing to the intrigues in which he embarked, and the adventurers with whom he surrounded himself."

Sir Julian then goes on to defend Ismail both against the charges of Prince Halim and against what is undoubtedly the commonly received opinion. He contends that Ismail is the only man who has the requisite capacity and strength to govern Egypt at the present time.

"He was wrongfully dispossessed by the Tory Government, in obedience to the financial influence of France. He has learnt a bitter lesson, and he is a man of ability enough to profit by it. He is a man, as we all know, capable of governing, and of making his government respected. He knows how to maintain peace between the Arabs of the Soudan and the fellaheen of Egypt. If it is by payments to some of the chiefs that he accomplished it, that is assuredly better than slaughtering thousands of their people at the cost of hundreds of valuable British lives and millions of British treasure; and is no more immoral than the pecuniary assistance we give to an Afghan Ameer, or to many a Native Indian Prince. But how are we to enable him to re-enter on his government with the certainty of paying his way, and at the same time to do away with the law of liquidation once for all?

"There is only one way. It is a bold but an effective one. Give an English guarantee of 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the whole capital of debt, and then enter into an alliance with Ismail, offensive and defensive and provide, of course, in the treaty for the payment of the interest The guarantee would involve no risk to us and no payment by us: for the Egyptian revenue of nine millions would be ample to secure the payment of the amount guaranteed, *viz*, between two millions and two millions and a half, and to meet besides all the charges of the Egyptian government. And the bond-holders would gain largely, as their capital would be secure and rise in value, though the interest would be diminished. In return Ismail must be given absolute freedom from foreign interference, from French intrigue. The law of liquidation would be abolished expressly by our guarantee and the capitulations would have to dis-

appear as they disappeared in Tunis. M. Barrère and Sir E. Baring would return to be of service to their respective countries elsewhere, and ordinary consular representatives should take their place. It would be our duty to insist on the restored Khedive being left to himself and the result would be that peace would return to the distracted country, and a responsible government, which for six years we have been in vain endeavouring to establish, would be at length installed."

Under the title "Peace with Russia" Mr. S. Laing, M. P, contributes an article on our Central Asian difficulties from the point of view of general European relations. He contends that Russia is a natural ally of Great Britain, France a natural enemy. French and English interests cross each other all over the world, Russian and English hardly ever. France is anxiously waiting at this moment till, while we are engaged elsewhere (as in a war with Russia), she can enrich herself at our cost. Our policy for the last 75 years has been to oppose Russian aggression—a policy which has caused us to prop up Turkish misrule and to oppose the emancipation of the Eastern Christians. The same mistaken policy is leading us now to insist :—

"That districts in Central Asia as large as France or Germany, and once the seats of populous cities and of a flourishing civilization shall be kept eternally deserts. Why are they deserts? Because they have been so raided over by slave-hunting Turcomans that no one could till the ground without a musket in his hand and a tower of refuge within sight, and finally no one could venture to live there at all. . . . And why do we wish these districts to continue deserts? Because we are afraid of Russia getting within seven hundred miles of our Indian frontier. And why are we afraid? Because we prefer bringing in popular budgets to taking the necessary steps to make our Indian Frontier, humanly speaking, absolutely secure.

"Let this be clearly understood. Nature has given us a frontier to our Indian Empire which is one of the strongest in the world. . . . Why then with this well-nigh impregnable frontier should we be afraid of Russian advances in Central Asia? To tell the honest truth, because we do not like to go to the expense of keeping up a sufficient army to make ourselves perfectly secure."

Mr. Laing thinks that we should strengthen our frontier fortifications and always be in a position to put 60,000 British and 100,000 Native troops on the frontier in three months. This would mean, he says, a penny a pound more income tax in England. Having done this we should then leave Russia to carry on her benevolent enterprizes in Central Asia unmolested, in the sure confidence that she will not molest us.

"Mr. Gladstone as a Foreign Minister" is the title of a spirited article in the *Nineteenth Century* from the pen of the Rev. J. Guinness Rodgers. In reference to the recent negotiations with Russia Mr. Rodgers utters no hesitating verdict :—

"We are told with a sneer of the immense and unparallelled concessions which Mr. Gladstone's government have made to preserve the peace of the world. What are they? Not a rood of British territory has been surrendered, not a right of the crown has been compromised, not an engagement of the nation has been broken. The attack on Penjdeh seemed at first to be a breach on the part of Russia of an engagement on which we were bound to insist, and it is referred to an arbitrator to decide whether this is so or not. What more rational procedure could have been adopted? The battle was an affair of outposts sufficiently melancholy for the victims, but having no political significance whatever, except it could be proved to be an act of high-handed and insolent faithlessness. On that point the two Governments join issue. To have lighted up the flames of war for the purpose of deciding whether Russia had carried out her own engagements would have been an offence against Christianity and civilization. Millions on millions of money would have been wasted, thousands and tens of thousands of lives sacrificed, and in the end the only points established would have been which nation had the longest purse or the most resolute endurance, the ablest strategists or the bravest soldiers. The question in dispute would have remained exactly where it was in the beginning. Mr. Gladstone has preferred the "more excellent way." He deserves the gratitude of the nation and of the world for the courage he has shown in braving the fury of those who fancy that the nation can only prove its spirit by wasting its resources in war. Of all the acts of a noble life, I venture to think this will be esteemed by posterity the noblest of all."

QUERIES.

P. Ramakrishna Rao.—*I beg that you will kindly let me have your view as to whether the Suicide of Lucrecce was justifiable or otherwise.*

By those who deny that suicide is under any circumstances justifiable, the self-inflicted death of Lucretia must of course be condemned. We cannot, however, deal with the question in this summary way, as we are of opinion that a good deal may be said in qualification of the extreme position, that under all circumstances suicide is wrong. It is admitted on all hands that there are circumstances that justify the taking of another person's life: that killing is not always murder. Is it not then conceivable that there may be circumstances under which self-inflicted death would not be self-murder? May there not be justifiable suicide as well as "justifiable homicide."*

We suppose it will be admitted that a person may justifiably, not merely risk his life to save that of another, but actually lose his life for that purpose. Such a self-surrender as that has often been made, and, so far from being reprehended, it has been lauded as an act of consummate virtue. Again may one not justifiable incur a voluntary death, when the only alternatives are, either to die or to commit some crime or sin? For example, would it not be right for a person to die of starvation rather than steal to satisfy his hunger? Or take the case of Rebecca in Sir Walter Scott's tale of *Ivanhoe*. When she was menaced with violence to her chastity by the Templar, she saved her honour by threatening to throw herself down from the battlements of Torquilstone Castle. If the novelist had represented her as actually doing so, the "desperate expedient" might indeed have been regarded as a blemish from an artistic point of view, but it would not have detracted from the character of the heroine. Further, on what principle could the incurring of martyrdom be justified if it were wrong under all circumstances to die a voluntary death? It may be objected that the martyrs did not actually inflict death upon themselves with their own hands; they merely refused to avail themselves of the only alternative to save their lives. This, however, makes no real difference. Socrates when he drank the hemlock, from the necessity of doing which he might have saved himself had he been so minded, to all intents and purposes procured his own death. But no one condemns him for having done so, seeing that the only alternative was to prove unfaithful to his sense of duty.

We have said thus much to show that it is a perfectly defensible position to take up, *viz.*, that a voluntary death is justifiable under certain circumstances. This does not, however, settle the question propounded by our correspondent. It must be disposed of on its own merits. The facts of the case, as narrated by early Roman History, are, that Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, having been robbed of her chastity by Sextus Tarquinius, summoned her husband and father and, having briefly recited the story of her wrongs, stabbed herself to the heart. For this she was canonized by Roman sentiment, as being the first in Roman History to die a "Roman death." But we are now asked what judgment Christian morality pronounces on her deed. In our opinion that judgment must be on the whole unfavourable.

We have above adduced plausible reasons for thinking that a self-procured death may be justifiable under certain circumstances, as, for example, to save the life of another, or to avoid the commission of a crime or a sin But the suicide of Lucretia cannot be brought under any of these categories. What was her motive? She killed herself to escape the pain of living with an unjustly tarnished name, an object of pity or contempt to others. Now there is perhaps a conceivable degree and continuance of pain that would excuse, although it would not justify, suicide. But this plea can hardly be urged in vindication of Lucretia. She had not,

* As the word 'suicide,' like 'murder,' has come to have an unequivocally bad meaning, it would perhaps be advisable to call it by some other name when it is spoken of with anything short of condemnation. 'Voluntary death' would perhaps be a better term to use; and indeed the old Roman name for suicide was *mors voluntaria*.

at all events, to endure the pain of self-condemnation—the keenest of all mental pains. She had in no way been a consenting party to the crime that led to her suicide. She had at most to endure the suspicion of others; and that might have been lived down. We are therefore of opinion that the suicide of Lucretia cannot be justified. No end of duty or virtue was to be served by it. Nor was there even a pain that had passed the limits of human endurance to be escaped.

Plato in his *Phaedo* makes use of an allegory when discussing the question of suicide. He likens human beings to soldiers on guard, and argues that, just as the sentinel must remain at his post until he is relieved by the orders of his superior officer, so no human being is at liberty to hasten his death, but ought to wait until called away by Divine Providence. Socrates, into whose mouth the above sentiment is put, himself died a voluntary death; but in his case it was justifiable, because the only way, as it appeared to him, of saving his life was by a dereliction of duty. In these circumstances he considered that he was called upon by Divine Providence to quit his post in life's warfare.

Hindus are very apt to commit suicide for what seem slight and altogether inadequate reasons. A woman has had a quarrel with her husband and throws herself into a well. A schoolboy has not been promoted or has failed to pass an examination and he jumps into a tank. Now such an exit from life, if it is not the result of a disordered brain, argues either a defective idea of morality, or cowardice, or both, and ought not to be spoken of without the severest condemnation. We have no lighter condemnation for a practice which is beginning to be advocated, if not adopted, in Europe at the present day. We refer to what is called "Euthanasia." This is the euphonious designation given to the practice of putting oneself, or allowing oneself to be put, to a speedy and painless death in order to escape the discomfort of a lingering and incurable disease. It is argued that if one is sure to die, it is better to die speedily and easily than to die by inches and in pain. This reasoning, however, seems to us to be fallacious. In the first place, it assumes that our life is our own, to do with it as we please. This we hold to be an unwarrantable assumption. This reasoning assumes, as what needs no proof, that pain is always, at all events when not life-preserving, an unmitigated evil. In opposition to this we hold that pain is often a moral benefit, and that the pain of a lingering death-bed may be an invaluable discipline for a future life.

[We have received a long letter from the Rev. W. Herre, Luthern Mission, Cuddalore, regarding a statement made by us in answer to a query on page 953 of the June number of the *C. C. Magazine*. The statement was to the effect that those Protestant Christians who are called 'Lutherans' hold the view regarding the Lord's Supper which is known as *Consubstantiation*. Mr. Herre protests against this statement and adduces a number of quotations from the chief theologians of the Lutheran Church, to the effect that that Church repudiates *Consubstantiation*, both word and thing. We made the statement to which exception is taken on what seemed to us sufficient grounds. We were at pains to inform ourselves of the exact language of Luther, of the *Augsburg Confession*, of the *Form of Concord* and other recognised symbols of the Lutheran Church, and it appeared to us that we found in these, if not the word *Consubstantiation*, at least the doctrine. When however, Mr. Herre, who without doubt is perfectly acquainted with the articles of the church of which he is a minister, assures us that Lutherans hold no such doctrine as is known by the name of *Consubstantiation*, and backs up his assurance with the weightiest authorities, we are obliged to admit that we were mistaken. We are compelled to recognise that Lutherans must interpret such statements as "that the body and blood of Christ are really present and administered in the Lord's Supper to those who partake of it," in a sense different from that in which outsiders would naturally interpret them. We are glad to find we were mistaken, for it follows that Lutherans and Calvinists are more at one than we had supposed, and we are grateful to Mr. Herre, for setting us right.—Ed. *M. C. C. Mag.*]